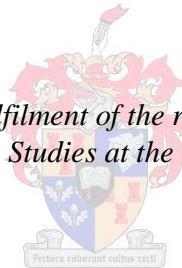


# **INVESTIGATING ENGLISH HOME LANGUAGE AND L2 LEARNER'S ABILITY TO ACCESS PRAGMATIC AND CONTEXTUAL ASPECTS OF A LITERARY TEXT**

by  
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*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree  
M(Phil) in Second Language Studies at the University of Stellenbosch*



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## DECLARATION

By submitting this Dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, and that I am the sole author, unless where otherwise explicitly acknowledged or stated. I hereby attest that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification, at any other academic or learning institution.

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Bernice Badal

February 2013

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## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this body of work to my father Mr Mark Ponsamy who passed away this year. I thank him for the passion and love for English that he inculcated in me through the use of stories, idioms and proverbs.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank you Lord Jesus for Your Grace over me this year.

I am eternally grateful to the following people:

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- Dr Rose Richards my co-supervisor who provided the calm amidst the storm and for her contribution to this thesis
- Rowan Phillips (my friend and sometimes enemy) for being there with love, support, and advice, along with standing in the gap when it was sorely needed. I value your opinion and honesty; “We learnt a lot indeed!”
- I thank the participants who volunteered to be a part of this study at such a crucial time of their lives;
- Oliver Saunders, for always being a phone call away, midnight raids and chocolate overdoses;
- Mandy for support from afar
- Everyone who in the littlest way tried to make my life more comfortable

My husband, Arn, for copious cups of coffee, love and support (your cooking will be missed...) and my daughters, Andy and Kerry, for all the hugs and kisses, support and unwavering belief.

## ABSTRACT

This study investigates differences in L1 and L2 Grade 12 learners' interpretation of an English literary text. In particular, the research focuses on pragmatic features of the text, or features which require knowledge of the cultural and situational context in order to be understood. It is hypothesised from the outset that L1 learners will be more adept at interpreting the pragmatic features of the text since L2 learners may lack the necessary linguistic and cultural knowledge needed to derive meaning from an English literary text.

The research takes the form of a qualitative study in which data was derived from ten participants in the form of a standardised test and semi-structured interviews. The test was based on F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and aimed to determine learners' textual and pragmatic competence through a series of questions. Semi-structured interviews then followed in order to investigate the students' own reasons for shortcomings in the test. In addition, the research draws on theories put forth by Brown and Levinson (1978) and Sperber and Wilson (2005) regarding "pragmatic competence", Hymes' (1972) notion of 'communicative competence', as well as research into how narratives are embedded into cultural mores, customs and norms. These concepts and ideas were incorporated into the research so far as they could assist in articulating the reasons for shortcomings in the literacy test.

The two methods of data collection and subsequent analysis generated significant information which was then correlated. First, the L1 learners outperformed their L2 peers in the literary test, both in terms of understanding the literary elements and in terms of understanding the cultural and contextual elements of the text. Second, the semi-structured interviews revealed two contrasting methods of language socialisation pertaining to the learners: while the L1 learners acquired English through direct methods and were found to engage more with English literary texts in the home, the L2 learners generally revealed that English was not practised outside of the classroom and engagement with English or English texts was not explicitly encouraged in the home. The study reveals that inadequate exposure to a language not only affects text-comprehension on a grammatical level, but prevents the learner from engaging with and understanding critical pragmatic elements of the literary text such as idioms, metaphors and other cultural references.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>CAPS</b>	Curriculum Assessment Policy
<b>DoE</b>	Department of Education
<b>FAL</b>	Further Additional Language
<b>GDE</b>	Gauteng Department of Education
<b>L1</b>	First Language
<b>L2</b>	Second Language
<b>LCT</b>	Literature Contextual Test
<b>LoLT</b>	Language of Learning and Teaching
<b>NS</b>	Native Speaker
<b>NNS</b>	Non Native Speaker

## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction to the research problem

#### 1.1. Background to the study

While many contemporary societies are multilingual, South Africa has a distinctive linguistic landscape which developed from unique historical and political circumstances. After the fall of apartheid and the first democratic elections in 1994, the new South African dispensation made an attempt to create unity between different cultures, and thus officially recognised eleven languages in the new legislation. In practice, these languages are not spoken everywhere and all the time but, as with many multilingual societies, English is used as a lingua franca in many social contexts (Titlestad 1996; Alexander 2001). Furthermore, many non-native English speakers perceive English to be a “global language” and the language of economic prosperity and thus forgo the use of their mother tongues in an effort to gain access to economic sectors of society and to increase personal wealth (Wright 2002; De Klerk and Gough 2002). This language shift is particularly evident among young South Africans, and has a tremendous impact on, and consequences for, educational contexts in South African society (see, for example, Murray and Nhlapo 2001; Manyike and Lemmer 2008; Prinsloo and Janks, 2002; Barry 2003).

Given the diversity of cultures in South Africa, the South African classroom is typically a multicultural one. The school curriculum is structured in such a way that students are required to take two languages: one language as a “home language” (that is, language learning that takes place on a first-language (L1) level, where students are assumed to be mother-tongue speakers of that language), and a second language (L2), or “Further Additional Language” (FAL). A general trend is that many children who claim L1 English status at school actually come from homes where parents are from mixed cultural backgrounds, and often their L1 is not English. Some learners, who claim English as their main language, are not native speakers (NS) in the sense that their parents are not English speaking, and neither is their extended family. In some families where the parents are from different cultural origins, a decision is often made in respect of choosing English as the language of communication.

The researcher is an English teacher at a South African school and teaches four matric classes, each of which differs in terms of the variety of mother tongues, culture and background. The aim of this thesis is to broadly investigate the reasons why L1 and L2 learners might struggle to interpret a literary text, and whether there is a difference in the level of interpretation between L1 and L2 learners. In order to narrow the field of study, this research looks specifically at pragmatic features of the text; in other words, those features of the text where some notion of the cultural and situational context is needed in order to derive meaning from the text.

## **1.2. Situational context**

The research takes place at a public, English medium co-ed high school located in Pretoria, South Africa (hereafter referred to as “the school”). The school is a former Model C school<sup>1</sup> where the medium of instruction is English as a first language. The school is situated in close proximity to foreign embassies. Because of this, the school has a high intake of foreign students, children of foreign diplomats from countries such as China, Korea, India and Poland as well as a few North African countries. In addition to this, the school also frequently admits children of missionaries who work for several organisations like Christian Mission Societies and Family International. These missionaries come from European as well as African countries. The organisations work amongst refugee communities in Sunnyside, Pretoria and in the local informal settlements.

In terms of the school curriculum, L1 language teachers often design their lessons with the idea that Second Language learners’ proficiency in English is on par with the proficiency of L1 speakers. With various curriculum changes and other administrative tasks that the Department of Education (DoE) requires teachers to perform<sup>2</sup>, teachers often experience time constraints which may prevent them from taking cognisance of the learner whose mother tongue is not English. This is problematic for various reasons. Apart from linguistic

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to the passing of the South African School’s act of 1996, the former House of Assembly introduced governance options of which the Model C option granted a large portion of self-governance to former “Whites only” schools.

<sup>2</sup> According to guidelines set out in the Subject Assessment Guidelines (SAG) of 2008 and subsequent additions in the Examination Guidelines of 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012, as well as the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) document of 2012, portfolio and examination tasks must take on a particular structure and format. The tasks must be pre-moderated, moderated, post-moderated and provincially moderated. In total there are 18 tasks due to the fact that the exams are counted as two tasks and also because each exam has three components. Currently CAPS has been introduced to grades 10 and 11, and 10 percent of all tasks must be moderated by teachers and Heads of Departments (HODs).

constraints, L2 learners may have cultural frames of reference vastly different to L1 learners and these may work as a barrier to learning in the classroom. In treating all learners like L1 speakers, the dynamics of the multicultural classroom are ignored, and L2 learners whose pragmatic knowledge is not fully developed in the L2 may struggle to understand and interpret the author's message beyond the textual form. Consequently, teachers may not be able to ensure that each learner receives a message (both verbal and textual) as it was intended. In spite of their level of proficiency in their individual mother tongues, L2 learners struggle to access the pragmatic and contextual aspects of literary texts, as the pragmatic norms of languages differ. However, that is not to say that L1 learners will not have problems interpreting a literary message. This research aims to investigate whether (1) L1 learners fare better than L2 learners when interpreting literary texts like the novel, and if so (2) to what extent do learners' pragmatic knowledge (linguistic and epistemic) influence the interpretation of a literary text. Specific reference is made to F. Scott Fitzgerald's novel *The Great Gatsby* set in America in the 1920s, as it formed the basis of a literary test administered to the research participants. This will be further discussed in section three below, but also in Chapter Three.

### **1.3. Research aims**

This study primarily aims to investigate whether L1 and L2 learners display the same level of competence when interpreting pragmatic features of a literary text. Since knowledge of certain linguistic conventions and cultural practices are developed from childhood, it is hypothesised that L1 learners may achieve higher scores than L2 learners in the pragmatic component of the LCT.

#### **1.3.1. Research question**

This research attempts to answer the question:

Is there a difference in the way that L1 and L2 learners access the pragmatic and contextual aspects of a literary text that is rich in figurative language and may include many historical and culture-specific references?

The researcher aims to investigate whether there is a difference in L1 and L2 learners' ability to comprehend the pragmatic features of a literary text. A literary text is produced within a cultural and linguistic background which is not necessarily shared by the reader (Thomas, 1983:93). Thomas defines pragmatics as a meeting ground where a speaker's knowledge of

grammar comes into contact with his or her knowledge of the world. Both features of knowledge are sifted through “systems of beliefs about the world” (Thomas, 1983: 90). Therefore, linguistic and contextual cues are necessary in order to interpret utterances and “assign force” appropriately. Learners need linguistic competence (grammatical competence) to structure information coherently and syntactically, but pragmatic competence gives learners the ability to realise a specific purpose and to understand language in context. This is achieved by deconstructing the socio-cultural codes in the text in order to derive meaning from it.

Since the focus of this study concerns learners’ access to the pragmatic and contextual aspects of a literary text, it is necessary to evaluate their communicative competence based on Bachman’s (1990) theories of communicative competence. Bachman (1990:87) describes language proficiency as the ability to utilise a range of skills to link the message aptly with the social purpose and context. Accordingly, pragmatic competence is illustrated in the model as referring to the study of pragmatic access to contextual aspects of a literary text would only apply to the “ability to interpret cultural references and figures of speech” (Bachman, 1990:87) under ‘sociolinguistic competence’. However, this study will focus on linguistic and epistemic factors that influence pragmatic competence.

### **1.3.2. Research hypotheses**

#### **1.3.2.1. Hypothesis One: Pragmatic knowledge is essential to the comprehension and production of a text.**

A primary aim of language development in school is to assist learners in becoming grammatically and textually competent. Grammatical competence includes knowledge of vocabulary, morphology, syntax, and phonology/graphology of the target language. On the other hand, textual knowledge refers to the ability to comprehend, but also produce, larger texts. It is an awareness of the features of different genres, including appropriateness in terms of tone and awareness of reader/writer relationships. These features are the pragmatic features of the text: “Pragmatics studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects of our choice on others” (Crystal, 1987:120). Here, Crystal identifies that pragmatics is the study of communicative action in its socio-cultural context.

Thomas (1983:99) defines pragmatic competence as the ability to communicate effectively and encompasses knowledge that is so distinctive in nature that it is beyond the level of

grammar. Therefore, while a student may understand the grammar of English, if coming from a different cultural background, they might lack the contextual information needed in order to interpret the text. The rules that govern pragmatics are not as discernible as grammatical rules (rules of syntax) that can be rehearsed and applied.

Kecskes (2010:53) defines “context” as any aspect, linguistic, epistemic, physical, or social that impedes the actual interpretation of signs. The idea that meanings are dependent on surrounding text and situational context is dominant in current linguistic theory (Kecskes, 2010:54). In the study of a literary text such as the novel, learners need to understand the context in which the text was produced. Interpretation of this narrative must be sought against the backdrop of historical, political, social and beliefs of the period. Bachman’s (1990:87) definition of sociolinguistic competence highlights the fact that in order to fully understand figurative content in narratives, the extended meanings and evaluations given by a specific culture to particular beliefs, events, institutions or people, must be understood in context. Therefore knowledge of shared cultural references is necessary if one is to understand or produce texts with any degree of competence (Lantolf, 1999:122). Often figurative language creates confusion because it relies on cultural references from one speech community that may not be shared by the hearer or reader.

### **1.3.2.2. Hypothesis Two: Pragmatic knowledge differs amongst L1 and L2 speakers.**

Since linguistic behaviour is culturally and contextually facilitated (Kasper, 1996:154), it is hypothesised that discrepancies would exist between L1 and L2 learners. While school learners are typically still developing textual and pragmatic competence, it is hypothesised that L2 learners would struggle more with the deep processing activities required for interpreting literary texts, particularly the ability to actualise indirect pragmatic intent in literary texts like hinting, irony and innuendo (Kasper, 1996:154). These linguistic devices are central to many literary texts and are prevalent in *The Great Gatsby*. If knowledge is constructed by speech communities in relation to their environment, it would be safe to assume that the L2 learner who is not part of a community whose mother tongue is English, would struggle with a text produced within this cultural context, since narratives would include references which are culture-specific. Furthermore, it is hypothesised that L1 learners’ sociopragmatic knowledge is sufficiently developed to construct a thorough analysis of the meaning of the narrative, including social and historical references contained therein.

The assumption that L1 learners would perform better in the test than L2 learners is based on a large body of research, most of which will be covered in the following chapter. However, what is important to note from the outset is research reported by Mateas and Sengers (1998), and Ortactepe (2011) draws relevant conclusions about two concepts that are critical to this study: narrative and language socialisation. According to Mateas and Sengers (1998:1) the development of narrative structure begins at a young age and in a particular social and cultural context, through the verbal actions of parents and caregivers, and through the incorporation of texts such as fairy tales and oral stories into daily practices. These narrative frameworks “become an important part of the way children learn to approach the world” and this process follows on into adulthood (Mateas and Sengers 1998:1). Thus, apart from direct language development skills, L1 speakers of English become more adept than L2 speakers at interpreting and understanding typical Western English narratives. This skill would assist in the interpretation of *The Great Gatsby*, both in terms of familiarity with narrative structure, but also in terms of identifying participants in the narrative. Apart from the concept of narrative and narrative development, the concept of language socialisation is central to this research hypothesis and this study as a whole. Ochs (in Ortactepe, 2011:12), explains that the process of language socialisation is based on the assumption that “acquiring a language is part of a much larger process of becoming a person in society”. Schieffelin, Ochs and Poole (in Ortactepe 2011:15), propose that language socialisation for L2 speakers is different from the L1 speaker as it happens in two ways: socialisation through the use of language, referring to interactional sequences in which novices are directed to use language in specific ways, and socialisation to use the language to encode and create cultural meaning. Thus, the acquisition of pragmatic knowledge in a target language is a long process and includes the acquisition of cultural norms if the language is to be interpreted meaningfully. It is therefore doubtful that L2 speakers have acquired the same level of pragmatic competence as their L1 peers, and differences in the level of pragmatic competence will be able to be inferred after completion of a literary comprehension test.

#### **1.4. Methodology**

This is a qualitative study in which data was collected from ten participants. In a qualitative research project of a limited scope such as this one, the intent is not to apply the findings as a universal phenomenon. A qualitative approach enables examination and analysis of how L1 and L2 learners’ access the pragmatic contextual aspects of a literary text and to identify any challenges experienced by the students. The reasoning behind the choice of the qualitative

approach is because it is by nature exploratory, interpretative and descriptive and provides a platform to understand multiple realities (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270-271; Leedy and Ormrod, 2001:102). Participants are therefore purposively selected on the basis of whether they “can best help us understand our central phenomenon” (Cresswell, 2007:214).

Based on the considerations above, participants were selected from the researcher’s own matric group in relation to their nationality and first languages. In this study, it was essential that at least five of the participants were South African and L1 speakers of English in order to investigate the research hypotheses more thoroughly. A questionnaire was used to collect the biographical data of each candidate. The candidates chosen were L1 and L2 English speakers from South Africa, but also one L2 speaker from Ghana.

In addition, a standardised test was used to determine learners’ textual and pragmatic competence. The text is an extract from a prescribed text: F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*. Contemporary readers in South Africa, while aware of the divide between rich and poor, may fail to understand social values and norms that existed in America in the 1920s unless they have been exposed to knowledge about the period through alternative texts such as books and movies. Furthermore, Lewis (2000:258) hypothesises that when a text is about characters whose cultures and life worlds are very different from the reader’s, it makes identifying with the text even more problematic, and learners may withdraw completely in such cases. Therefore this text provides challenges to both L1 and L2 learners. To ensure validity and consistency, the test was designed as per the requirement of the Examination Guidelines of 2012 (DoE).

Further qualitative data was generated from one individual interview with each of the ten participants. The one-on-one interviews were conducted by the researcher in English, the language of learning (LoLT) in the classroom. In these interviews the learners were asked to identify and diagnose their errors in their written answers, and also to elaborate on their experience related to the interpretation and understanding of *The Great Gatsby*. This section of the research generated valuable data concerning the extent to which cultural factors influence the production and reception of a narrative text at matric-level.

## **1.5. Chapter outline**

In this final section of Chapter One definitions are provided for critical terms that are used in this study. Chapter Two provides a critical overview of the literature relating to this topic of



study. Chapter Two examines related scholarship, with a view to acquiring a framework for data analysis in the study. Thus, the relevant literature is only examined so far as it enhances the study or informs the methodology. Chapter Three articulates the research methodology used in the study, and provides an overview of the manner in which the research project was conducted and details about the participants, the research questionnaire and the semi-structured interviews. Chapter Four provides the relevant data and an analysis of both the questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews. In terms of the analysis, key themes are addressed and data from both the questionnaires and interviews are provided at once, in order to address the key research areas more comprehensively. Finally, Chapter Five presents some concluding remarks on the findings of the study and makes recommendations for future research in the same area.

### **1.6.1. Core terminology**

#### **1.6.1. Illocutionary and Sociolinguistic competence**

While illocutionary (pragmalinguistic) competence aids language users to communicate a variety of functions and to understand the illocutionary force of utterances, the appropriateness of these functions and the manner in which they are accomplished differs from one context to the next. Contextual factors include sensitivity to differences in dialect or variety (regional or social conventions), sensitivity to differences in register (variety in different domains of discourse), sensitivity to naturalness – ability to interpret utterances like a native speaker, ability to interpret cultural references and figures of speech (knowledge of extended meanings given by a specific culture to particular events, places, institutions or people). Sociopragmatic competence therefore, is knowledge of the variations of registers, which are context dependent and their appropriate use (Bachman 1990:94-96).

#### **1.6.2. Native Speaker**

Alpetekin (2002: 57) proposes that a native speaker's identity is shaped by language use or language performance. As a member of a particular speech community he or she is perceived to behave in a specific manner, interpret other people's behaviour in terms of references to a particular communicative system that is available to them. It can be deduced then that the identity kit of an English speaker would comprise of a range of language behaviour based on

socialisation which defines them and sets them apart from users of the language whose identity does not reflect the same cultural construct

### **1.6.3. Linguistic competence**

In order to be competent in a language a person needs to know the rules and conventions of the arrangements of words that contribute to meaning in a sentence as several conventions govern the joining of words, phrases and utterances.

### **1.6.4. Target language**

Target language refers to the language being learnt.

### **1.6.5. L1 Speaker**

A L1 speaker is a speaker who communicates with a degree of competence and linguistic intuition in his or her first learned language (McKay 2002:29).

### **1.6.6. L2 Speaker**

Cook (1999:187) defines the L2 speaker as someone who is using a second language, (L2). The L2 speaker is different from an L2 learner who is still in the process of learning.

### **1.6.7. Pragmatics**

Gass and Selinker (2002:05) define pragmatics as: “The way in which we use language in context.”

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **Literature Review**

Chapter Two focuses on the literature that is pertinent to this study. Given the contextual as well as cultural complexities of this study which were discussed in the previous chapter, linking it to other studies is problematic since directly comparable research is scarce. While there is a large amount of literature available on the L2 learner in the classroom context, the focus is mainly on the L2 in an L2 environment. That is, an environment where language-development is primary and classroom interaction is conducted in such a manner as to ensure that the learner achieves fluency in the second language. In this study, the L2 participants are in a context that assumes L1 status and are thus expected to have the same level of knowledge and competence as L1 learners.

It is assumed from the outset that problems regarding the interpretation of literature and comprehension on behalf of L2 learners in L2 contexts are similar to the sort of problems experienced by L2 learners in a L1 classroom. Here, the literature helps discern what exactly these problems are. Of special interest to this study is whether L2 learners have the same level of competence in accessing pragmatic features of a literary text as a native speaker in a L1 class. Therefore, L2 studies that refer specifically to barriers to literature comprehension and interpretation, especially in the areas of implied and referential meaning, should help to investigate the hypothesis further.

In order to establish a strong theoretical foundation it is necessary to define who an L1 speaker is since L2 speakers target language competency is compared to L1 speakers and to describe the setting, which is the South African classroom in which the various competencies are judged. In addition communicative competence and barriers to interpretation is explored with culture and identity being mitigating factors for interpretation or lack thereof.

#### **2.1. The L1 speaker**

Since the L1 speaker is often perceived as the ideal language user in L2 and L1 studies (Han, 2004:166) it is necessary to define 'L1 speaker'. Davis (in Han, 2004:170) postulates that a L1 speaker can "decide what is now in use, be aware of what is speakable, and have a relaxed attitude towards his or her norms". But he also points out that Native Speakers differ among

one another in terms of their communicative competence. He further states that knowledge that a NS has is encapsulated by the word ‘knowing’. This means that a L1 speaker knows how to construct grammatically correct sentences, knows the conventions of language and the manner in which culture and language overlap.

In terms of Davis’s description of L1 knowledge, a large percentage of the first-language English class in South Africa is at a disadvantage because they are not L1 speakers and might struggle to understand and interpret literary texts as a result of a shortage of knowledge of literary and linguistic conventions in English. Meaning is built on the foundation of learners’ knowledge of figurative language and literary devices and tests are structured on those precepts. Hence the knowledge of how to use language appropriately, which is the focus of the field of pragmatics, is a necessary skill that a L1 speaker acquires through constant use of the language.

## **2.2. The complexities of the “home language” English classroom in South Africa**

According to the 2012 Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) document prescribed by the Department of Basic Education for Grades 10-12 (2011:8-12):

Home Language is the language first acquired by learners. However, many South African schools do not offer the Home Language of some of the enrolled learners but rather have one or two languages offered at Home Language level. As a result the labels Home Language and First Additional Language refer to the proficiency level at which the language is offered and not the native (Home) or acquired (as in the additional languages) language.

The English language curriculum is organised according to the following skills and content: (1) listening and speaking; (2) reading and viewing; and (3) writing and presenting. The time allocated to English as a first language is 4.5 hours per week, in a 40 week cycle. Reading and viewing forms the literature component, which calls for learners’ knowledge and study of literature to be enhanced through the review, consideration and/or analysis of concepts, such as genre, register and other stylistic features of literary texts.

What is of significance is that Barrett’s Taxonomy (in CAPS 2011:76) is used to set tests and exams and 40% of each test has to comprise inferential type questions. Another 20% forms part of the critical analysis band-level 4 and the remaining 40% is attributed to literal and

reorganisation. This means that 60% of the test comprises of questions with a level of difficulty that may prove too challenging for learners whose proficiency level is unquestionably not equivalent to those with true L1 status. A factor that may contribute to the L2 learner's difficulties in a L1 class is that entrance into the L1 class is not based on performance in proficiency tests, but rather personal choice, which is sometimes motivated by the perceived global and economic status of English. Thus learners from previously disadvantaged areas and schools migrate to previous Model C schools that are better resourced and have L1 English teachers teaching English.

Prinsloo and Janks (2002:23) use the term 'cultural heritage' to describe the approach to literature that has become the dominant pedagogy in English Medium schools in South Africa. Textual scrutiny is encouraged by close reading of the texts, a method inspired by Leavis (1943). This method effects analytic interpretation with a focus on tone, style, structure and figurative language. The cultural heritage approach encourages learners by providing a specific set of practices like identifying a theme and discussing characterisation. While no mention is made concerning the pragmatic inadequacies of such an approach, learners are taught to be awed by the sophistication of canonical literature.

While a few curriculum policy statements have come and gone (CAPS is the latest being phased in), teachers are still using the close reading approach as it is considered the best approach to prepare the learners for The National Senior Certificate Examination. Although the CAPS document (2011:11) suggests that the approach to literature should be a text-based and a communicative approach but there are no guidelines for the implementation of the communicative approach except that "a learner must have a great deal of exposure to the target language and many opportunities to practice or produce the language". In addition to this, students are encouraged to read a lot. It has been previously mentioned that the time allocated for English L1 is 4 to 5 hours a week, so the time constraints allows exposure to the target language to actually mean completing the prescribed syllabus and portfolio requirements, especially, in the senior phase which can prove to be an impediment in terms of providing extra attention to L2 learners. This could mean that L2 learners may struggle because the pace at which the educator teaches, coupled with Western cultural norms regarding oral, spoken and written discourse, may be overwhelming.

Moreover, the avenue to external help may be limited as literary guidelines for learners mostly focus on the L1 speaker. This may largely be due to the fact that the external

examinations do not make provision for L2 speakers of the language who may experience difficulties due to cultural and pragmatic constraints, since it is assumed that only those who are proficient in the language take English as a L1 and L2 learners have the option to take English as FAL. Rodway (1982:1-2) prefaces his approach to literary criticism with the contention that the reader who engages with the text should be concerned with how literature means rather than what it means. This approach has serious implications as the theoretical foundation of analysis excludes L2 learners as certain aspects of knowledge are assumed to be part of the readers' 'cultural bank'. However, Rodway (1982) does explain that the how in literature refers to the way language communicates meaning about the lifestyle of the people of a particular era based on the fact that the fiction represents some sort of reality – it is always written within a particular social and historical context, aims to represent a particular context, and in this way conveys a particular ideology. The communicative approach suggested by Rodway (1982), while excluding L2 speakers because of lack of cultural knowledge, highlights the need for focus on background knowledge.

### **2.3. The concepts of 'language proficiency' and 'communicative competence'**

According to Lee and Schallert (1997:716) 'language proficiency' is not easy to define because of its multidimensional quality. Hymes (in Lee and Schallert 1997; 716), distinguishes between 'linguistic competence' or "knowledge of the rules and systems of a language" and 'communicative competence' or "knowledge of the social rules of language use". Canale and Swain (1980:04) also refer to Hymes (1972) and Campbell and Wales (1970) and concur with the recommendation for a broader perspective of language competency which should include communicative competence in respect of the exploration of both implicit and explicit knowledge and also sociolinguistic competence (knowledge of the rules of language use).

The emergence of the concept of communicative competence is traced to Bachmans' (1990), Bachman and Palmer's (1996), Canale and Swain (1980:4) and Canale and Swain's (1980) studies which signalled a shift in the perspective of L2 learning from mastery of only grammatical forms to the acquisition of understanding and using language in context. This perspective postulates that pragmatic competence, especially the ability to produce meaning in context, involves interpreting the implied meaning. In the case of a literary text, the writer's intention (what a writer intends to accomplish) is crucial to the interpretation of meaning. The ability to use knowledge appropriately has been an integral factor in L2

research and has been investigated widely with implied meaning and ability to contextually infer forms the core of literary research. Harmer, (in Bouazid, 2010:33) suggests that in order for the reader to interpret what the author is implying, especially when meaning is extended beyond the literal meaning of the words, a variety of clues are necessary to access meaning.

Alptekin (2002:57) describes Canale and Swain's model of communicative competence as having four competencies: grammatical competence (refers to Chomsky's concept of linguistic competence) is the learner's knowledge of syntactic, lexical, phonological and morphological aspects of language; sociolinguistic competence, which is knowledge of the social rules of language use -understanding of the context in which language is used, discourse competence, which implies knowledge of the extended use of knowledge in contexts including culture specific rhetorical patterns and implicatures, and finally strategic competence which refers to knowledge relating to compensation strategies for inadequate knowledge in the various domains.

Alptekin (2002:30) describes studies by Canale and Swain in order to concretise the theory that sociocultural competence has two dimensions: "Sociocultural rules of use and rules of discourse." Knowledge of these rules is crucial to the interpretation of utterances and facilitates the interpretation of utterances, especially if there is uncertainty between literal meaning of an utterance and a speaker's intention. Moreover sociocultural rules regarding the use of language specify how utterances are produced and understood properly. While this study is primarily concerned with sociocultural and pragmatic competence, grammatical competence and linguistic barriers are important so far as they impede access to the pragmatic aspects of a text. Hence, linguistic competence will be discussed below.

#### **2.4. Linguistic competence: Linguistic barriers to the interpretation of literary texts**

As highlighted above, linguistic competence involves knowledge of the rules and systems of a language. Since some of the participants in this research are not mother tongue speakers of English, it follows that interpreting meanings of words and sentences would be more problematic in comparison to L1 speakers. There is an abundance of such words and phrases in American English, the vernacular of *The Great Gatsby*, and access to such features would prove to be problematic if the reader's identity has been shaped by different cultural norms, history and religion, which would ensure a different kind of conceptual schema which would make an interpretation of the text more complex.

Griswold (in Luke, 1989:53) also confirms that literary texts are encoded with messages that convey particular values, knowledge, and embody linguistic structures without which message construction would not be possible. The information on the page makes sense only if it is arranged according to specific historically accurate linguistic rules and culture specific literary conventions. Such conventions regulate linguistic aspects of texts such as lexical choice, syntactical structures, and choice of topics while other aspects include metaphors, similes, rhetorical devices and genre form which influence the use of literary stylistics and encourage deep processing activities.

This research investigates these literary devices so far as interpretation thereof is limited by cultural and pragmatic knowledge. While it is well understood that metaphors are cultural-specific (see for example, Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Grisham 2006), features like verbal irony may not form part of language use in all cultures. Han (2002:27) explains that the use of irony whether it is verbal or written, requires the learner to have both linguistic and extra linguistic competence. In addition, a learner must share social, cultural or communicative knowledge with the ironist in order to understand the irony. The author further specifies that with verbal irony “the speaker’s specific communicative objective is mockery of someone or something” but the specific feature of verbal irony lies in its two very opposite meanings. Of the two meanings one is sincere and the other not. Those who accept the meaning as sincere become victims of the ironist while those who are able to understand the second meaning become accomplices. However it is not guaranteed that the accomplices will decode the second meaning successfully. Thus, contextual and cultural knowledge is often needed to interpret even the smallest of linguistic devices in a text. The question then arises as to whether grammatical competence and pragmatic competence are related or dependent on each other. Han (2002) also lists a study by Niezgoda and Röver (2001) which replicated Bardovi-Harlig and Dörn Yeis’ (1998) study with Czech English as Foreign Language (EFL) students. Niezgoda and Röver (2001) found their L2 students displayed significantly more pragmatic errors than grammatical errors. The studies also illustrate that pragmatic and grammatical development may be associated with different learning environments.

A second study by Bardovi-Harlig (1999a), which aimed to investigate advanced learners’ pragmatic ability, also found that advanced-level grammatical competence does not necessarily guarantee a *concomitant* high level of pragmatic competence. In addition, proficiency tests, like the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) grade-level, repeatedly illustrated that high level proficiency in language competence is not matched by



performance, which is in some cases native like in the pragmatic features examined (Kasper, 2001:505-506).

Kecskes (2000:145) further claims that recent research supports the idea that L2 learners who are very proficient grammatically will not necessarily display pragmatic skills that correlate. While some scholars attribute non-native like production of pragmatic skills to the lack of, or low level of, conceptual fluency and metaphoric competence in the target audience, Kecskes claims that the explanation is only partly true as pragmatic skills in L2 learners does not necessarily reflect conceptual fluency in the target language adequately since individual variables contribute significantly to the selection and use of pragmatic units.

Taguchi (2005:544) further explains that speakers have a variety of linguistic choices at their disposal which they utilise for strategic purposes and the intentions not always obvious to the hearer. Accordingly it is the readers' pragmatic competence that is an invaluable component in recognising the speakers' intention which is conveyed in a variety of implicit and explicit ways, and the ability to make accurate inferences about the speaker's communicative aims is imperative in the transfer of meaning. Chen (in Chen and He, 2012:490) explains that it is the reader's task to use the linguistic cues provided by the speaker to enable the interpretation of the pragmatic meanings in utterances. Thus, readers using superficial methods of interpretation because of a lack of knowledge of linguistic cues would struggle to obtain the pragmatic intention of the speaker in the linguistic structures of the text.

A South African study conducted by Barry (2003) examined the difference in achievement of L1 and L2 learners. The L1 learners' performance was considerably better than L2 learners in Grades 4, 5, 6 and 12. L2 learners were able to perform well on a literal language level, but lacked the ability to access the pragmatic aspects of literary texts. L2 learners also lacked the knowledge or skills needed to be able to make inferences and to critically evaluate the texts used. Furthermore EFL and ESL learners displayed an inability to answer questions which required L2 learners to access figurative, non-literal pragmatic features: meaning the ability to make inferences and predict outcomes. The results of the above mentioned study is significant to the study in question because the researcher of the current study is also interested in discovering whether L1 learners outperform L2 learners in accessing figurative, pragmatic features of a text as well as being able to make inferences.

Kern (1989:136) postulates that incomplete knowledge of the target language impacts negatively on L2 learners. Since inferencing skills need deep processing in order for readers

to understand and achieve meaning, and learners have to rely on contextual clues, it is naturally assumed that L2 learners would mostly interact with a text on a literal level. Furthermore Kern (1989:139) supplies evidence from research studies that support the hypothesis that L2 learners tend to be more “linguistically bound to the text than L1 learners”. This means that L2 learners pay more attention to the surface structures of the language resulting in poor comprehension.

## **2.5. Pragmatic competence and the interpretation of literary texts**

Traditionally, it was assumed that grammatical competence was sufficient to communicate successfully, and this would imply that comprehension and the production of sentences was simply a question of *encoding* and *decoding* messages. If sentences are presumed to have a fixed interpretation irrespective of their *context* of use, this would cause problems for the L2 speaker as he or she would not be aware of the multi-layered meanings inherent in each utterance (Finegan and Besnier, 1989:327).

A sentence is basically a group of words structured by a predetermined order and an utterance is a sentence that is said or written in a specific context by a speaker who has a particular intention or message to convey. The intention of the speaker is also connected to a specific effect that he or she wants to create on the hearer. In addition an utterance can serve more than one communicative function, so in order to interpret a speaker’s intention the hearer must relate the linguistic content to the relevant features in the context of the situation (Finegan and Besnier, 1989: 328).

Naturally the L2 speaker who does not have the ability to use language in context would struggle because he or she needs a different kind of knowledge (one that is beyond linguistic conventions) to be able to infer what a speaker intended to convey, especially if inference is based on “knowledge of the world” of the target language. For an L2 speaker to communicate successfully he or she therefore needs to have pragmatic competence which is the type of knowledge of conventional language rules that must be used appropriately in the production and interpretation of utterances (Thomas, 1983:88).

Although speakers already have pragmatic competence (knowledge of how to use language in context) in their native language (L1) and are aware of speech act conventions and have the ability to make contextual inferences, problems may arise if they attempt to transfer their L1 conventions to the target language. However, transfer is not entirely impossible, if certain

rules of discourse are not language specific. Thus the pragmatic competence of an L2 speaker can be judged by his ability to understand and apply the indirect speech act rules (knowledge of linguistic conventions included) as well as the ability to positively transfer rules from his L1 to the target audience successfully (Blum-Kulka, 1982:31-32).

Cohen (2008:214) defines speech acts as having features of routinised and patterned language that native and pragmatically competent non-native speakers and writers in a given speech community use to facilitate acts such as thanking, complimenting, requesting, refusing, apologising, and complaining. While Speech Act Theory and Brown and Levinson's (1978; 1987) 'Politeness Theory' have been influential in studies of cross-cultural communication, and have made tremendous contributions to the understanding of linguistic and politeness strategies, this study is only focused on how pragmatic knowledge, that is, knowledge about cultural and situational contexts, influences the interpretation of literature.

The main problem for pragmatics as determined by Sperber and Wilson (2002:2) is the presence of ambiguities, referential ambivalences, ellipses, implicatures, metaphors and ironies and other conventions, all of which require "an appropriate set of contextual assumptions" on behalf of the hearer in order to understand the speaker's meaning as it was intended. The problem highlighted here is crucial to the interpretation of a literary text. Sperber and Wilson (2002:3) further explain that in order to recover the speaker's meaning the hearer needs to disambiguate and assign reference as utterances also sometimes convey implicit meaning. It is thus the hearer's task to use contextual information to find the meaning that the speaker intended to convey.

Research has illustrated that the goal of pragmatics is to demonstrate how users of a language use the means provided by a language system to convey meaning either implicitly or explicitly and how indirect meanings or rhetorical devices trapped in certain figures of speech are accessed. The idea that meanings are contextually bound has informed a few of the most powerful perspectives in contemporary linguistic and philosophical theories<sup>3</sup>. However, according to Sperber and Wilson (1981:285) "Pragmatics is not a separate device or sub-device with its own specialized structure: it is simply the domain in which linguistic abilities, logical abilities and memory interact". This is important because it highlights the fact that the process of interpretation is not solely governed by lexical cues, but by pragmatic considerations. An example where pragmatic process is paramount is when a literal or

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Wittgenstein's (1921) theories of language as one of the earliest manifestations of this idea.

metaphoric expression needs to be interpreted figuratively in context in order to be understood (Kecskes 2010:54). To illustrate “...he was pulling my leg,” occurs in the *The Great Gatsby*, and is part of the literacy test administered to the students. Those familiar with English should have no problem interpreting the idiomatic expression, while others might take it literally or find it humorous or strange. Andreou and Galantomos (2008:09) suggest that since idioms are a part of everyday language of the target language L2 learners’ proficiency can be related to their knowledge of idiomatic language. The authors refer to research by Ellis (1997) and Yorio (1989) to show that “adequate knowledge and appropriate use of idioms in an L2 is an important indicator of L2 communicative competence.”

Taguchi (2005:544) further explains that pragmatic competence encompasses the ability to understand implied speaker intention through the use of linguistic knowledge and contextual clues as proposed by Grice (1975), Levinson (1983), Sperber and Wilson (1995), and Thomas (1995). Taguchi (2005:544) argues that communication is never obtained by the mere decoding of linguistic material; communication includes interpretation of contextual clues.

Kasper and Rose (1997:2) state that in the available L2 literature, pragmatic competence has been studied mainly from production skills perspective focusing specifically on the production of speech acts and very little research has concentrated on competence regarding the functions of language from a pragmatic perspective. In addition Kasper and Schmidt (1996:150) illustrate the need for more research into interlanguage pragmatic competence which reveals the lack of studies in children’s acquisition of pragmatic competence in both L1 and L2 contexts. Kasper and Schmidt (1996:150) further add that “approaches to language instruction and assessment should be informed by theory and research on pragmatic development”. This would allow contrastive analysis which would serve the need to understand how L1 speakers’ socio-pragmatic knowledge differs from that of L2 speakers who are from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The specifications outlined above highlight possible problems for L2 learners in a L1 class whose experience with Western norms of communication and knowledge of implied meanings may be limited and may impact negatively on their access to pragmatic concepts inherent in literary texts. Sperber and Wilson (1981:281) argue that:

Utterances convey information which is conceptual, intentionally communicated and linguistically encoded, and which is processed in the context of additional conceptual material retrieved or derived from memory.

This means that specific knowledge is necessary in order to process meaning which has been linguistically and intentionally communicated. Of great concern here is whether L2 learners, from diverse cultural backgrounds, have knowledge to process intentionality or a memory bank with adequate conceptual material to interpret an English text. However, L1 difficulty in this respect also cannot be ruled out as learners in the South African context may have a different world knowledge and conceptual knowledge from speakers in other English speaking countries which may negatively impact their pragmatic interpretation. Van Rooyen (in Murray and Nhlapo 2001:108) suggests that L2 learners in South Africa are often deprived of a linguistic environment that promotes proficiency in English. Some learners' homes have radios, televisions, or any form of written resources to use as a model or to develop referential ability. Learners also lack exposure to English fables, nursery rhymes, idioms, proverbs songs and games which are usually part of the heritage of a L1 English speaker's childhood.

Adding to the lack of resources, parents of L2 students in this study often cannot speak English so L2 Learners may not be able to even gain much familiarity with verbal cues which may then be transferred to written documents. Hinkel (1994:353) refers to Jackendoff and Hudson statement that research has shown that when readers prove to have insufficient data for interpreting abstract notions and unfamiliar information, both L1 and L2 speakers default to assumptions in order to negotiate meaning. Since language is cultural-specific it is necessary for users of the language to have knowledge beyond the sentence level. So language users need to know or understand the cultural references that underlie the message.

## **2.6. Influence of culture on pragmatic interpretation**

If language is culture specific, created by people in specific environments in order to communicate about common social practices and cultural artefacts, then it follows that a learner who is part of another environment would struggle to access pragmatic features alien to them. Kim and Hall (2002:332-333) state that from birth, children obtain necessary pragmatic skills through interaction with parents or communicators. Thus children are given resources to understand language use, and over time children develop the ability to understand discourse patterns and its communicative patterns and become aware of the rules of language use. Knowledge acquired in this way becomes part of their pragmatic competence. Bacalu (2011:762) states that the way children learn to think and behave is regulated by contextual and cultural norms and values of the culture to which they belong.

Rituals and traditional events help them understand symbolism. Through the acquisition of language and meanings of expressions, children learn to make associations. Hinkel (1999:11) further postulates that language can be seen as a referential framework of expression: “in all language behaviour there are intertwined enormous complex patterns. These can be expressed as patterns of reference and patterns of expression.” These are ideas imperative to this study as it seeks to understand how insufficient knowledge of cultural frameworks may impact negatively on L2 learners’ access to literary texts.

Hinkel (1991:1) claims that culture does more than catalogue the rituals and beliefs of people; it shapes a person’s cognitive and social concepts and defines how people and objects are perceived. In addition Hinkel (1991: 3, 11) states that language can be described as a way to document human experiences and understanding of the world so it stands to reason that members of a language community would share systems of beliefs which would be entrenched in the way a culture constructs their world. Hinkel’s views of language are derived largely from social constructionists’ views of reality. From a social constructionist perspective, reality is not a “given” but is socially constructed, primarily through the use of language and in this way forming a connection between language and the culture of the community. Hence cultural identity is shaped by the juxtaposition of cultural perspectives, language and the manner in which each culture instructs and prepares people for interaction with others and with texts. Schecter and Bayley (1997:514) also suggest that cultural identity is defined by the way that an individual behaves within a particular social and cultural framework and uses language as a social action. Graesser et al. (1994:371-374) describe a constructionist theory that explains how knowledge based inferences are constructed when readers comprehend narrative texts. The main assumption of the constructionist theory is that readers search after meaning. Accordingly this notion implies that readers try to build a meaning representation that addresses the readers’ goals, “that is coherent at both local and global level and that explains why actions, events and states are mentioned in the text”. Graesser et al. list countless studies that support the theory of text comprehension that accounts for the role of world knowledge in the interpretation of literary texts, or the idea that all readers need to retrieve knowledge from memory in order to process the propositions that the writer puts forth. But one of the primary problems with L2 comprehension of English texts is that the learner possesses insufficient background and contextual knowledge to process all the relevant information.

Furthermore, L2 learner's cognitive style may be different from the L1 learners. Saville-Troike (2006) refers to cognitive style as the way an individual thinks, the "preferred way of perceiving, conceptualising, structuring and recalling information". Graesser et al. (1994:374), add that inferences are based on knowledge, so inferences can only be activated when "prior knowledge structures in long term memory" are accessed and used to unlock meaning in a text<sup>4</sup>. Adding to this, Bernhardt (2001:45) suggests that the reason for L2 learners' poor performance in inferencing contextual aspects of literary texts could be that each learner has a unique linguistic and conceptual framework and the process of reconstruction is founded on the conceptualisation of linguistic and cultural data that forms part of their background knowledge. Richards (1985:265) adds that when presented with propositions in a text in which references need to be made, the reader must draw upon inferences or a relevant context from previous knowledge which provides a range of assumptions from which contextual implications can be achieved. This may be problematic for a L2 speaker of English with a different cultural background.

Thus L2 readers need to possess knowledge of other texts from the same cultural and situational background in order to interpret the literary text properly. Accordingly, L2 learners would have internalised their L1 in the same way as these principles of language socialisation applies to all languages, but where the target language and culture differs significantly, difficulties pertaining to the transfer of linguistic and cultural rules and knowledge become elevated. Gee (2001: 719) refers to language socialisation as "Discourses with a big D." By this he refers to language use beyond words and grammar, to include mannerisms and social norms around talking, listening, writing, reading, behaving, believing and feeling which communicators acquire within a particular environment or language community. Accordingly, children who grow up in a particular community would learn the discourse behaviour of their speech community and this would form a part of early language socialisation of which L2 speakers would be excluded. This does not mean that all L2 speakers would experience problems as L2 learners should make every attempt to develop pragmatic competence by becoming 'socialised' into the target language through interactions with L1 speakers of the language, however if contact with NS is limited and their L1 community speaks only their mother tongue, this means that L2 learners have limited access to target language which creates a barrier to learning. In situations where L2 learner's environment does not create opportunities or provide resources needed to develop pragmatic

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<sup>4</sup> This view is based on studies by Kintsch (1988, 1992, 1993); Kintsch, Welsch, Schmalhofer and Glavanov, (1986) and van Dijk and Kintsch (1983).



awareness of the target language, and the only exposure to English is in the L1 class, then these learners may not develop skills to the extent that it would facilitate the interpretation of pragmatic aspects of a text.

In support of this, Kramsch (1993:48) asserts:

teaching how to shape contexts of interaction cannot be done directly by well dosed administration of fact...Pragmatic knowledge... can only be acquired through observation and analyses and a feel for the whole context...It is not an if then affair. It requires, therefore, a totally different pedagogic approach.

Additionally, Kecskes and Papp (2000:08) suggest that learners, “when acquiring a non-primary language should not only attempt to learn the grammatical structures of that language but also the conceptual structures.” If learners do not have access to the ‘conventionalised conceptualisations’ of the target language then L2 learners would resort to their L1 conceptual base. Danesi (1995:6) defines *conceptual fluency* as a means of knowing how the target language encodes its language with metaphors and other cognitive devices. Based on results of a pilot study, Danesi suggests that figurative competence even at comprehension level is not adequate in a typical classroom context. Danesi’s explanation does not imply that L2 learners are incapable of learning figurative language, but that if exposure to the conceptual system of the target language is limited then learners are bound to struggle.

Therefore, performance can be enhanced only if prior knowledge can be activated, and also if learners possess the corresponding cultural and pragmatic knowledge of the literary text. Bernhardt (2001) also explains that some literary texts contain inherent ambiguity, metaphors and intertextual connectivity to which L2 readers may not have access. Lyons (1981:222) explains that some references like connotations in a name can only be inference in the context in which it is implied and context is very relevant to this type of meaning. A name like *Napoleon* has historical significance to a certain group of people. In an English context, “there will be a whole host of shared associations and connotations around that name.” This means that L2 learners who are not part of the culture will be unable to reference the implication if it is found in English literature.



## 2.7. Cultural embeddedness of narratives

Since each language has its own patterns of rhetoric and linguistic nature, it is natural to assume that learners who have had limited contact with the target culture in terms of speech, writing and knowledge of the culture of discourse, would struggle to understand references as well as the narrative structure of a literary text. The cultural-embeddedness of narratives was first articulated in Labov and Waletzky's model of narrative structure in 1967, rearticulated by Labov in 1997 and then taken up later by a number of theorists including Bruner (1991) and Minami (2002). According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), all narratives are composed of a set number of features, however, cultures differ in the manner in which they arrange these features, or whether they leave some aspects (like the conclusion) implicit or explicit. In the context of this study, it is assumed that many of the L2 speakers are not familiar with the narrative construction of a typical American ('Western') English text, and thus will find comprehension more difficult than their L1 peers. In the case of L2 speakers, Western norms and literary conventions may pose problems.

Holmes (2003:177), in her study of ethnic narratives in New Zealand, explains that narrative analysts have in recent years mostly used Labov's analytical framework which includes six abstract components namely: abstract, orientation, complicating, action, evaluation, resolution, and coda. While some of the components are optional and some are prescribed therefore the choice and use of the different components is what illustrates the differences in narrative structures between different social groups and cultural groups. Holmes (1989:174) identifies the universality of narratives but adds that the variation in the way that a story is told illustrates sociocultural differences. Investigating the narratives of the Maori and Pakeha the author found the following differences: some Maori stories do not have explicit resolution so the story seems unfinished to the Pakeha, in some stories the evaluation is lexically implicit and the resolution and coda may be left out entirely which to the Pakeha listeners feels unfinished. As a Pakeha story would have "overt resolution clause many introduced explicitly with the discourse marker, so." While Holmes (2003) investigated cross cultural miscommunication through narrative storytelling, she exposes the significance of cultural narrative structures and schema which could exert an influence over L2 learners interacting with narrative texts with structures unlike those belonging to their cultures.

DuBravac and Dalle (2002:218) in their study of L1 and L2 inference production, refer to Graesser et al.'s study to support the notion that narrative texts need knowledge based

inferences in order to be interpreted correctly. They concur that narrative texts replicate events that normally occur in readers' daily experiences like "performing actions in the pursuit of goals, the occurrences of obstacles to goals, and emotional reactions to events".

Barr, Kamil, Mosenthal and Pearson (1996:467) report studies by Rubin and Gardner (1985) and McNamara (1981) which help them to prove that the reading fairy tales helped with acquiring background information. In the authors' study, sixth graders supplied more information about the motives of characters in a fairy tale than third graders or first graders. Seventh graders showed more critical understanding of satire than fourth graders. Barr et al. explain that "These findings suggest that the older readers were applying knowledge of fairy tales and satire frameworks or scripts". This means that readers acquire knowledge of structures and literary conventions which develop as they mature. Carrell and Eisterhold (1983:556-557) refer to work done by Bartlett 1932, Rumelhart and Ortony 1977 which highlights the role of background knowledge and schema theory. According to schema theory, readers apply pre-acquired knowledge in order to construct meaning from the text at hand.

Divsar and Tahriri (2009:105) state that the intrinsically complex nature of literature makes it inaccessible to learners who have less than sophisticated knowledge of the English language. Furthermore the use of rhetorical strategies in literature differentiates it from everyday language. In literature, linguistic features are manipulated to achieve certain stylistic effects, which can prove to be challenging to the L2 learner.

## **2.8. Concluding remarks**

My approach to the research is informed by various studies that investigated the value of studying literature in the classroom, but the research also indicates that second-language speakers may struggle to interpret the literary message due to linguistic factors, inadequate prior knowledge, unfamiliarity with cultural norms and pragmatic knowledge. It is expected that the challenges experienced in other contexts would also apply to L2 learners in the L1 class in South Africa.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **Research Methodology**

In this chapter I provide an outline of the methodology used in analysing and interpreting the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. This is an ethnographic study which takes a qualitative approach to the research data and thus makes generalisations about literacy practices based on a relatively small number of participants. In order to provide some clarity on the research methods, this chapter discusses the nature of qualitative research more broadly before providing an overview of how the research project was conducted. More specifically, this chapter provides details regarding the methodology of participant selection, the profile of the participants as well as details regarding the questionnaire and semi-structured interviews.

#### **3.1. Qualitative research**

According to Myers (1997:2-3), qualitative research makes use of qualitative data such as interviews, documents and data obtained from observing participants in order to understand and explain various social phenomena. This type of research was developed in the social sciences to assist researchers in studying social and cultural phenomena. Since human beings have the ability to communicate, qualitative research methods are designed to enable researchers to understand people and the social and cultural contexts in which they live. Hence, texts such as interviews yield qualitative information which facilitates this type of understanding. According to Holliday (2007:8), qualitative research allows the researcher freedom to observe the social phenomenon being studied in a creative manner but the researcher is obliged to account for every step of the process.

The reasoning behind the choice of the qualitative approach is because it is by nature exploratory, interpretative and descriptive and provides a platform to understand multiple realities (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270-271; Leedy and Ormrod, 2001:102). In qualitative research projects of a limited nature such as this one, the intent is not to apply the findings as a universal phenomenon. Thus, this qualitative study will investigate responses from ten participants in order to ascertain whether there is a difference between L1 and L2 learners in the way that they access pragmatic features inherent in a literary text. Based on these

considerations, participants were selected from the researcher's own matric group, from the four classes to whom I teach English Literature. Selection of participants was based on their respective first languages (with the aim of the study in mind), in the sense that five of the participants had to have English as their L1 and five of them had to be L2 speakers.

### **3.1.1. Selection of participants**

A questionnaire was administered in order to obtain biographical data of prospective candidates so that participants could be selected. Data solicited was based on participants' first language, exposure to the target language, attitude and competency in English, and cultural and religious affiliations as well as language preferences in terms of the language they chose to communicate in. Data obtained facilitated selection and profiling of the participants.

### **3.1.2. Ethical precautions**

Participants in the study were informed that their involvement was strictly voluntary and that it was within their rights and obligations to withdraw without prejudice or fear of victimisation. This information was included in the consent form. Grade 12 is an important and busy year and time constraints and extracurricular and co-curricular duties had to be factored in before consent was given.

Information about the nature of the study was communicated to all the parties involved. Permission had to be obtained from the principal of the school, the Research Ethics Committee at Stellenbosch University and from the Gauteng Department of Education, as well as the parents of the learners. Learners were given an overview of the context as well as the process and time frame in order to volunteer freely.

Singleton et al. (in de Vos, 2005:61), propose that 'the right to privacy is the individual's right to decide when, where, to whom, and to what extent his or her attitudes, beliefs and behaviour will be revealed.' It is therefore necessary to safeguard the privacy of the participants. The identities of the participants in this study are known only to the researcher and the participants were assured confidentiality and anonymity. Participants in the study were assigned random initials known only to the researcher in order to mask their identity.

### **3.2. Language profile of respondents**

This section will provide a brief language profile of each respondent in terms of their respective first languages, and if English is not their L1, it will trace their introduction to English. In the case of multilingual countries like South Africa, multicultural families often have to make linguistic choices whether to remain monolingual or incorporate two languages into the home. In a few cases, the families of the learners chose to remain monolingual, but many of the children grew up in bilingual homes.

#### **3.2.1. AA**

AA's father is Irish and his mother is Afrikaans. His father is deceased and his brother is the father figure in his life. A conscious decision was made by AA's brother for English to be the language of communication. AA's mother tried to get both her sons to communicate in Afrikaans but they chose not to, although AA does admit that he does speak Afrikaans when necessary. He has been reading from a very young age and has only been to English medium schools. AA considers English to be an important, influential language because of its global appeal. He comments that his mother has also been persuaded to speak the language as she now speaks English to him. AA is quite conversant with linguistic techniques like irony, puns and sarcasm and he perceives that knowledge of these techniques gives him power of his peers. His home is always equipped with resources like books, audio books and movies in English.

#### **3.2.2. BB**

BB's parents are both first language English speakers and she speaks English all the time. She has been introduced to reading and developed a passion for it. BB has been attending an English medium school from pre-school to Grade 12. Her parents speak only English and it is thus assumed that she has learnt appropriate language behaviour and is aware of contextual factors in communication. BB's home has various forms of English resources.

#### **3.2.3. CC**

CC's father comes from an Italian background and his mother is Afrikaans. His parents, despite their non-English heritage, have chosen English as the home language. CC speaks

only English with his parents and friends. Although resources in the form of books and movies are provided in the home CC chooses not to read, but has been exposed to indirect instruction in sarcasm and irony which is always used against siblings. He therefore refers to these conventions as “an expression of love.” He prefers watching movies because it is easier than reading texts. CC has been to English medium schools throughout his entire academic career.

#### **3.2.4. DD**

DD’s father originates from Scotland and her mother is English. Her family speaks only English and she has been introduced to literature from a very young age and has developed a passion for the classics. Her home is well resourced in terms of books and movies. DD’s parents have used indirect forms of communication and she is also fond of irony, sarcasm and puns because according to her “you can express yourself better” by using these linguistic devices. She has only been to English-medium schools and has mostly English friends.

#### **3.2.5. EE**

EE’s father is Afrikaans and his mother is English. They speak English in the home because his mother prefers English to be the language of communication. Although he did go to an Afrikaans-medium primary school, he was moved to an English-medium primary school and from there on he went to an English-medium high school. EE’s mother is an English teacher so his home is well resourced with books and movies. He reports that his father is fond of using sarcasm and other stylistic devices and EE states that he, too, enjoys manipulating the language.

#### **3.2.6. FF**

FF is from Ghana and her L1 is Tri but she can also speak Ga and Guan. When she lived in Ghana her family spoke the local dialects and did not speak English. FF did study English at school but she did not speak it at all since the focus of English teaching in Ghana was on grammar only. When FF came to South Africa, she entered high school and was introduced to literature for the first time. She now speaks English all the time because her parents want her English to improve. FF has never had direct exposure in the home to the manipulation of the target language in the form of literary devices, nor claims to have received indirect

instruction of them. FF does not mention any English resources in the home and was exposed to stories and folklore in the vernacular when she was little. Irony, puns and sarcasm are not part of her language usage. When she was in Ghana she did not interact with the users of the English language at all.

### **3.2.7. GG**

Both GG's parents are Afrikaans and they speak Afrikaans to him all the time. Early exposure to literature was in Afrikaans in the form of Afrikaans fairy tales. He has switched between English and Afrikaans medium schools until Grade 7, when he went to a local primary school which is a "feeder school"<sup>5</sup> to the school being studied, and he stayed there until he came to the high school where the research was conducted. He chose to do English as a L1 because of its global importance and hopes it would make him a better competitor in the job market one day. He notes that his mother uses irony, sarcasm and puns, as does he with his friends for humoristic purposes.

### **3.2.8. HH**

HH is a South African but considers himself Asian because he was raised in an Asian manner and not in a Western manner. His parents speak Mandarin to him and HH was only introduced to English in preschool. HH does admit that he feels more Taiwanese than South African because he has a lot of exposure to his culture in the home. He was exposed to Asian stories, but likes to read certain types of English novels. HH never speaks English outside the classroom unless it is to a speaker from another culture, and thus uses it as a lingua franca. His friends speak Mandarin, so he communicates mostly in Mandarin. He has had a strict upbringing and was instructed in a direct fashion with no humour in the form of irony, sarcasm or puns and he also does not use those conventions when he speaks. HH does not mention any English resources in the home, but he has always attended an English medium school.

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<sup>5</sup> A feeder school is the primary school closest to the high school and it is assumed that most of the learners from that school will enrol at the high school because it is in close proximity to where they live

### 3.2.9. II

II was born in the township of Shoshanguve and her L1 is Sotho. Her family moved to the suburbs when she was in primary school and since then II attended English medium schools. She only speaks English in class, but when she is out of class she speaks Sotho with her friends. It seems like her family does not encourage her to speak English because they are afraid that she might adopt Western mannerisms. Her parents speak the Sotho vernacular to her all the time. II was never instructed in an indirect manner and never read or was read to until she got to primary school. She never mentions any English resources in the home and does not read much. She likes to watch American TV (MTV) and tries to adopt the American accent.

### 3.2.10. JJ

JJ's L1 is Xhosa and she speaks the language at home and with her friends. She was born in the Eastern Cape but her family relocated often. When she was little she was told Xhosa stories, but not English stories in the oral or written form. At the age of six JJ moved to Bloemfontein where she went to a Xhosa-speaking school and remained there until Grade 7. The classes were in Xhosa so she did not speak any English. However, English as a subject was introduced in Grade 6. The teachers mainly focused on grammar and she did not include any literature in the curriculum. After Grade 7 JJ went back to the Eastern Cape. Once again she went to a school where the teachers and learners only spoke Xhosa and she stayed there until Grade 10. In Grade 11 she came to live with her aunt in Pretoria, so she came to the school where the research took place.

## 3.3. Method of data collection

### 3.3.1. Literature contextual test

There are various components to the English Curriculum for Grade 12 learners. This study focuses on investigating how learners respond to pragmatic features of a literary text (which in this case is *The Great Gatsby* by F. Scott Fitzgerald) and how they use knowledge in context. Two novels are prescribed for Grade 12 learners, *The Great Gatsby* and *Animal Farm*, and schools can choose between the two. At the school the learners study *Animal Farm* and therefore *The Great Gatsby* LCT was an “unseen test” as the learners were not



prepared or taught the novel. The format of the test is prescribed by the DoE and includes pragmatic and non-pragmatic features in order for comparisons to be made. The test is set by the researcher and replicates the format of tests as prescribed by Examination Guidelines of 2012. Questions of a pragmatic nature require learners to use knowledge in context to inference implied meanings, explain the use of figurative language like irony and ambiguity, explain meanings of fixed expressions and access deeper structures of the text while questions of a non-pragmatic nature required more superficial engagement with the text. (Test structure is described in more detail in Chapter Four of this study and the instrument itself is attached as Appendix B).

Yuill and Oakhill (in Bowyer-Crane and Snowling, 2005:190) suggest that inference making is a great contributor to learners' comprehension of texts. Furthermore, learners tend not to go beyond the literal which leads to making mental representations which is a process that leads to understanding. The literature contextual test LCT requires learners to be able to make inferences and access knowledge beyond the written word, make predictions, use linguistic cues, and interpret idiomatic language and specific phrases because the features mentioned are the pragmatic elements inherent in literary texts.

The analysis below serves to discuss some of the main issues and the rhetorical social world in the novel *The Great Gatsby* as these issues impact on how learners would engage with the text beyond a literal level.

### **3.3.2. The Great Gatsby**

It is impossible to structure an in-depth analysis of a popular novel like *The Great Gatsby* in a study of this nature because the purpose of the analysis serves only to provide a context for the LCT. An attempt to capture all the themes and features that contribute to its popularity and literary merit would not do justice to the flavour of the novel. Instead, this analysis will be guided by the aim of the study and a discussion of factors of a historical, social, pragmatic and contextual nature will follow as these are the features with which learners usually struggle. The main themes, in particular, the myth of the American dream, social hierarchy and racial prejudice will be briefly examined in order to shed some light on the social behaviour of the period and the rhetorical social world of the novel.

Brucoli (2002:6) refers to *The Great Gatsby* as a novel about the 'Roaring Twenties,' and as a novel that is so rich in its description and evocation of the fabric of society that it can even

be regarded as a historical account of the period. This means that a reader would be able to not necessarily relate to the period but be informed of the setting.

Scholarship in the period of New Criticism chiefly commented on the technique, style, imagery and diction used in the novel to reflect the American preoccupation with success by achieving a dream (Anderson 2002). New Criticism (Peck and Coyle 1993:181) as an approach to studying literature negates the connection of the text with the author's life, social or historical and suggests that answers can be obtained by analysing the text alone.

The tragedy of Gatsby's dream turning to dust was also explored in contrast to the cultural myths that were perpetuated at that time (Anderson 2002:28-29). Eble (1974:34-41) relates interest in the novel in respect of the popularity of the Twenties and the structure, theme and style of the text that suited literary study since World War One.

However, Eble (1974:01) does suggest that 'professional and amateur critics have wrestled with its symbolism, allusion, indirection, irony, ambiguity and mythical dimensions.' In substantiation, Eble refers to Bicknell who suggests that while the novel romanticises the American dream on the one hand; the allusion to Eliot's *Wasteland* indicates a hint of pessimism to Bewley, who proposes that the theme of *The Great Gatsby* should rather be the withering of the American dream.

In addition, Eble (1974:40) explains that readers may be confused with the way that information about Gatsby is withheld and creates a mysterious figure of the central character and that readers would even find it difficult to follow the plot and discern how it all fits together. Furthermore, readers may not understand the symbolism in the silently judging eyes of T.J. Eckleburg who observes Tom's affair with Myrtle, highlighting the tawdriness of the affair and the violence that ensues. In spite of the difficulties evidenced, Eble does highlight the universality of the theme which although it illustrates the American past, it can also be applied to the present and to any time, setting or narrative in the Western context. Eble sees this as the twentieth century pursuit of materialism and moral decline and the never-ending quest for the romantic ideal.

The context of the novel, Garrett (2002: 102) believes, would even be lost on Americans who did not live in that period, or the English who it is presumed "by birth, education and experience, the assured knowledge and the imagination to understand the very subtle social implications and ambiguities that lie at the very heart of the story of Gatsby." As for people

of a culture foreign to Western norms, Garrett says: “forget the foreigners” because even Americans and English people would struggle to understand the context as they would not be able to relate to the specific and special world that Fitzgerald describes. The story is set deep in the heart of the prohibition and old social guidelines that clearly establish class distinction and rules of behaviour do not exist in the contemporary world and the modern reader may fail to reconstruct imaginatively the rhetorical social world of *The Great Gatsby*.

The main themes that emerge in several studies (Goldsmith, 2003; Anderson: 2002; Bruccoli, 2002; Eble, 1974; Lena, 1998) are social hierarchy, the myth of the American dream and racial prejudice. The American dream propagated the idea that “the most important goal was individual betterment. This could be achieved by a combination of hard work and strength of character, no matter how obscure one’s social origins were” (Lena 1998:21).

While the myth or ideology of the American dream gave hope to people like Gatsby, whose inferior status places him as a representative of the working class, Tom Buchanan, is Gatsby’s counterfoil in many ways. Tom’s status as a member of the aristocracy and his concomitant behaviour, snobbery and prejudice against or feeling of superiority against anyone who was not White and did not belong to the aristocracy is emblematic of his class. While on the one hand the working class was given hope of social mobility, men like Buchanan defended their way of life and social superiority that was inherited and closed ranks against anyone who achieved wealth and tried to climb the social ladder and it is this factor that crushes Gatsby and his dream at the end of the novel. Lena (1998:22) reports a quote by Menckers who commented on the behaviour of the aristocracy using Nietzsche, aptly describes how access was denied: “it hedges itself with purely artificial barriers. Next only to its desire to maintain itself without actual personal effort was its jealous endeavour to prevent accessions to its ranks.”

In addition to class superiority, Lena (1998:31) alludes to the novel’s treatment of the prevalent notions of racial superiority evidenced by Buchanan’s outburst: “civilization is going to pieces... have you read, ‘The Rise of the Coloured Empires’ by this man Goddard? ...White race will be utterly submerged...it’s been proved” (Fitzgerald, 1990:18). Goldsmith, (2003:443) also refers to Tom in order to highlight how the novel depicts the aristocracy not only being orientated towards suppressing social mobility, but also suppressing aspirations of mobility amongst different races as well. This is evident when Tom equates Gatsby’s courting of Daisy as “intermarriage between Black and White” (124).

Tom's earlier comment, added to this one, establishes his attitude towards miscegenation which is construed as cultural decay and socially unacceptable.

The exploration of some of the themes in *The Great Gatsby* should not pose problems for readers of Western literature because one can identify with the essence of being a self-made man, heartbreak and prejudice. However, the gaps in knowledge about Gatsby's origins, education and how he makes his money could cause confusion. Brucoli also identifies gaps in the novel in terms of the mystery surrounding Gatsby's involvement in bootlegging, criminal activities, the swindle with Wolfsheim, and the only clue to Wolfsheim being a thug is cufflinks that were actually human molars.

However the use of pragmatic features like irony, innuendos, hinting and implication enables *The Great Gatsby* to remain a popular work of fiction because of the vivid account of life, behaviour and social attitude of the 1920s. Eble (2002:86), states that *The Great Gatsby* "illuminates the American past and present - presents within its pages something of the scope and variety and dynamics of American life, the light and dark of American experience and the underside of American Society." Eble's comment on American society aptly sums up the value of the novel as a social comment on traditional western society in the 1920s. Through the structure of his plot and the use of pragmatic features Fitzgerald is able to reveal traditional society with its class distinctions, emblematic behaviour, hypocrisy and prejudice.

### **3.3.2. Semi-structured interviews**

The second stage of this study took the form of individual interviews which served to yield qualitative information about the participants. An informal atmosphere was fostered in order to remove any nervousness or feelings of intimidation.

Welman and Kruger (2004:161) list as one of the reasons that necessitate a semi-structured interview, the fact that the respondents come from diverse backgrounds. The candidates were asked questions restricted to particular themes, but the order and phrasing of the question sometimes differed from person to person depending on cultural background, experiences and level of competency. Unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews allow the use of probes only with a view to clearing up vague responses or to ask for elaboration of incomplete answers. Probes such as 'why?' or 'could you elaborate on this?' can be used. The second reason for the choice of semi-structured interviews for this study is the diagnostic analysis of each individual candidate's performance in the test. Individuals were asked to

provide possible reasons for the answers produced and in this way provided valuable insight which helped to answer the research question.

In this arena the learners were able to diagnose their level of competence through corrective feedback and identification of possible reasons for misinterpretation. They further elaborated on their experience in terms of interpretation and understanding and in turn provided information about fundamental issues that prove to be barriers to understanding literature. In addition, some vital areas of remediation were identified in order to develop different pedagogical approaches.

### **3.4. Concluding remarks**

This chapter outlined the methodology used in this research. It structured the process for the acquisition, exploration and interpretation which will lead to the analysis of the data in Chapter Four. Participant profiles established their linguistic and cultural backgrounds. An analysis of the text, *The Great Gatsby*, is presented in order to place it in context and reflect scholarly opinion. The semi-structured interview process was described in order to motivate its use in this thesis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Data Analysis

This chapter presents and discusses the results and the discussion of the analysis of the test compiled by the researcher and administered to the ten participants, as well as the semi-structured interviews that followed the test. The analysis of the test and interviews were conducted with the broad aim of the study in mind: How do L1 and L2 learners access the pragmatic and contextual aspects of a literary text? Findings and conclusions in support of or against the hypotheses will be arrived at in the last chapter of this study.

#### **4.1. Approach to data analysis**

##### **4.1.1. The research test**

The test used in this study replicated the format of a LCT, and took into account the guidelines set out in the latest 2012 Exam Instruction document as prescribed by the GDE. In accordance with the LCT, the test was marked with a marking memorandum which is not exhaustive and allows the marker to give credit to original responses from the participants.

While the LCT is in line with standardised tests and exams for literature, it does not in any way reflect the participant's complete English language competence. Since the literature component comprises only one third of the Grade 12 curriculum with process writing and language and comprehension making up the other two thirds, participants may struggle with contextually mediated interpretation (in other words - may struggle with interpreting literary texts in context), while excelling in non-pragmatic aspects of LCTs, as well as in the other components of the curriculum.

Bachman (1990:1) explains that "the nature of the language ability to be measured and the nature of the measurement form the conceptual foundation for the development and use of language tests as it has an impact on how the test will be interpreted and how it will be used." In the current study, the LCT can be administered and used for any Grade 12 learner who takes English as L1 in South Africa. The format of the instrument helps put learners at ease since learners are familiar with the layout and levels of questioning while external instruments and unfamiliar formats may impact negatively on the learner's attitude to the test.

In order to inspire the participants to take the LCT seriously an incentive was offered to them. Participants were offered the chance of using the scores obtained as an extended opportunity which would afford them the opportunity of improving marks obtained in another test.

All ten participants are fluent in spoken English, but range from average to excellent in exam scores, however, the test is used more to investigate inferential skills, knowledge on how to use language in context and how to interpret meaning in context. In other words, the focus of the LCT was more on pragmatic features. In this LCT 37, 5% constitutes the non-pragmatic features content while 62, 5% constitutes aspects of the pragmatic features of the literary text.

#### **4.1.2. Description of LCT**

The LCT is attached as Appendix B. The test has two components. Some questions aimed to test the learners' ability to elicit contextual information about the text and were explicit in nature, while questions which aimed to elicit the implicit nature of a text needed a greater proportion of background information in order to assist students in answering these questions. Answers for questions of this kind cannot be directly accessed from the text, but participants can arrive at answers by recognising textual clues, linking the linguistic cues to interpret the author's intention or by using knowledge of the world. As mentioned previously, background knowledge and prior learning form the foundation of communicative competence and therefore many questions in the LCT are aimed at identifying how much contextual and implied content learners are able to draw from the text. However, a few questions which rely less on background knowledge and more on cues that are provided by the text were added. These questions require the learners' to follow the dialogue and find implicatures inherent in the use of pronominalisation and fixed expressions for which answers cannot be accessed by taking context into consideration.

Explicit questions formed the non-pragmatic component of the LCT which provided a basis for a comparative study between performance, relative to accessing pragmatic features and non- pragmatic features of the text. These questions are (1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6; 2.2.1; 2.2.2; 2.3.2; 2.4.2; 2.6) and can be found in Appendix C.

Figures of speech, idiomatic language and specific expressions from the text form the next section of questions. While figures of speech on their own can cause problems for comprehension, as they require deep processing activities which could prevent learners who can only access surface structures from understanding the speaker's intent, the meanings for

idiomatic language and specific English phrases cannot be directly accessed from the text as they form part of the everyday language usage of the target community and L2 learners may struggle to find meaning in context.

Finally, questions that need superficial or literal interpretation were asked in several questions (1.1.; 1.7; 2.1.1-2.1.5; 2.3.1) and can be found in Appendix C. These questions simply required participants to look for meanings of words in context. Such questions relate to the student's pragmatic knowledge since it is hypothesised that many L2 learners would struggle to understand terms which do not form part of their immediate cultural context, or would find it harder than the average L1 learner would.

#### **4.1.3. Data obtained from LCT and Interviews**

From the results it is clear that all the participants seemed to be disadvantaged by the setting and the period (1920s America) in which the story is set. However, L1 learners who watched movies or read books set in American contexts were able to interpret better or at least construct answers that were close to the expected answer. Both L1 and L2 learners struggled to find meaning in context because they concentrated on a particular line instead of looking for the answer in context and failed to follow the conversation (Question 1.5.) L2 participants were especially disadvantaged by idiomatic language and specific expressions like, 'pulling my leg' and 'know you next time' as they looked at them superficially. Vocabulary terms that are context specific such as 'kike' and 'bootlegger' impeded understanding but in some cases, even after the meanings were explained to them, learners still struggled to arrive at the correct answer because these questions required them to understand figures of speech as well. In some cases, everyday words such as 'condone' and 'contemptuous' proved too difficult for some learners and accessing meaning in context was especially problematic.

Questions that required participants to conceptualise the imagery inherent in the context proved especially problematic for L2 participants who missed the linguistic cues provided in the text and this was exacerbated by the presence of specific expressions like 'worn threadbare.' While prior knowledge was certainly needed to access meaning in context some participants (especially L2 speakers) used their own knowledge, based on their own values to answer or knowledge from their culture. What is of significance is that L1 participants were able to get close to the answers, despite the fact that their understanding was impeded by either periodic references or vocabulary while their counterparts' answers were completely



wrong or very far from the desired answer. This means that L1 strategies for accessing pragmatic content is more developed than L2 learners who probably acquired strategies in their respective L1s and are unable to transfer these strategies to their L2.

#### 4.1.4. Group results

The LCT was designed to examine those areas of the student's text comprehension skills that are related to the hypotheses presented in Chapter One. Therefore, an analysis of each group's performance is necessary for comparisons to be made.

***TABLE 4.1: Research Data from LCT.***

<b>PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>NON-PRAGMATIC FEATURES (15/40)% = mark/15×100 = %</b>	<b>PRAGMATIC FEATURES (25/40) % = mark/25×100 = %</b>
<b>L1</b>		
1.AA	12/15 = 80%	13/23 = 52%
2. BB	11/15 = 73,3%	13/25 = 52%
3.CC	10/15 = 66%	10/25 = 40%
4.DD	12/15 = 80%	14/25 = 56%
5.EE	12/15 = 80%	19/25 = 76%
<b>Group Average:</b>	<b>Non pragmatic features = 76%</b>	<b>Pragmatic features = 55,2%</b>
<b><u>L1 Participants:</u></b> *Average difference between test results for pragmatic features and non-pragmatic features = <b>20,8%</b>		
<b>L2</b>		
1.FF	9/15 = 60%	2/25 = 8%
2.GG	8/15 = 53,3%	10/25 = 40%
3.HH	8/15 = 53,3%	10/25 = 40%
4.II	9/15 = 60%	5/25 = 20%
5.JJ	6/15 = 40%	4/25 = 16%
<b>Group Average:</b>	<b>Non pragmatic features = 53,3%</b>	<b>Pragmatic features = 24,8%</b>
<b><u>L2 Participants:</u></b> *Average difference between test results for pragmatic features and non-pragmatic features = <b>28,5%</b>		
<b><u>L1 and L2 Participants:</u></b> *Average difference between L1 and L2 <b>Non-Pragmatic Features = 22,7%</b> *Average difference between L1 and L2 <b>Pragmatic Features = 30,4%</b>		

#### 4.1.5. Observations

The following themes were identified, after analysis of the LCT:

- L1 participants scored higher than L2 participants in both the non-pragmatic and pragmatic features of the test.
- The average difference in scores between L1 and L2 in respect of accessing pragmatic features of a text is 30,4% while the average difference in scores with regards to accessing non-pragmatic features of the text is 22,7%.
- There is an average difference of 20,8% in scores obtained by L1 learners in non-pragmatic features (76%) and pragmatic features (55,2%) of the text, which clearly illustrate that L1 learners performed better in non-pragmatic features of the text.
- The average difference in scores between L2 non-pragmatic features (53,3%) and pragmatic features (24,8%) is 28,5 also clearly establishing the fact that the participants struggled to access pragmatic features of the text.
- There seems to be a greater disparity in the scores obtained by L1 (55,2%) and L2 (24,8%) in the pragmatic aspect of the test.
- The highest score obtained by L1 participants was obtained by EE (76%) while the highest score achieved in the L2 group was by GG and HH who both received just a pass of 40% revealing a 35% difference.
- The lowest score obtained by L1 participants was obtained by CC (40%) while the lowest score obtained by L2 participants was obtained by FF (8%) which reveals a 32% difference between the lowest scores achieved.
- All the L1 participants passed the aspect testing pragmatic knowledge, while only two of the L2 candidates passed with scores reflecting poor performance.

## **4.2. Interviews**

The following section provides an overview of the analysis of the interviews with the research participants. As stated earlier, the questionnaires, while extremely informative in areas pertaining to biographical information, social information and information regarding language usage, did not allow for participants to reveal strategies for processing non-literal language.

Analysis of the interview data generated valuable information pertaining to key issues such as early language socialisation, prior knowledge and challenges in the classroom and with literature comprehension more broadly. Each issue will be addressed separately below.

#### 4.2.1. Early language socialisation

Interest in early language socialisation has an impact on this study as it elucidates the level of epistemic knowledge of the participants. According to Hymes (1974a: 105), “we have then to account for the fact that a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner.” Hymes further articulates that children learn to develop a variety of Speech Acts, to participate in speech events, and learn how to gauge their endeavours in accordance with their language community. Competence acquired in this manner is an integral component in developing attitudes, values and motivations about language, its features and uses, as well as other forms of communicative behaviour.

#### 4.2.2. Cultural identity

Information regarding the experience of the students in multicultural households in South Africa is provided below. Of special note are declarations by some learners about their South African cultural identity, even if English is their L1.

BB: Well, I don't think, well, I'm not so much English but I'm more South African (pause) so um like culturally it's more South African 'cos the generations before my parents were all born in South Africa.

CC: I would say I'm English born, South Africa raised, just the way I was brought up I guess, just with the whole English, growing up speaking English.

DD: I have more English than Afrikaans friends

EE: I was brought up in an English household, my dad's Afrikaans and my mom's English but my mom preferred that I speak um English, my mom always speaks English. My dad speaks English but every now and then we get a little interchange into Afrikaans but normally it's just English.

While the English speakers established that English is their home language, the opposite is obviously true for the L2 English speakers. The L2 participants revealed that they are more comfortable speaking their mother tongue and speak English only at school or only in class.

GG: Like the language we speak at home is Afrikaans and like when I go out (pause) it's easier for me to communicate with people. If I speak Afrikaans I feel more comfortable.

It is interesting to note that HH, although born in South Africa regards himself as Taiwanese because of his Asian upbringing:

HH: Well I'm Taiwanese, I speak Mandarin at home and well the only place I speak English, is at school.

HH: Well, I feel more Taiwanese

HH: Well because um it's the way I act. It's not very Western because all the morals and principles which is um drilled into by Asian like um (pause) I follow those.

Furthermore, FF, who is Ghanaian and has only been in the country for a few years, has to communicate in English at home, because her parents want her English to improve. FF was, at first concerned about forgetting her L1, Tri, but is under the impression that improving her English by speaking it all the time is going to give her an advantage in the global market.

FF: To my parents we have to speak English, I tried not to speak um at first (pause) I was concentrating on 'cos when I came to South Africa I was concentrating on not forgetting my home language, 'but my dad is like, that will come later' (pause) then I realised that also um at home we never speak our home language. We speak English so and like everything, (pause) like even when I go like any place; I try to speak English with them (long pause) um I usually speak English all the time to help me understand it more.

Additionally, JJ is South African but only came into contact with more 'standard' forms of English by mother tongue speakers when she came to the school in 2010. She was introduced to English by her Xhosa teachers who mixed languages in order to help learners understand.

JJ: It was difficult ma'am; I was thirteen in Grade 6. It was difficult for me learn English.

JJ: Yes they were mixing languages like, English and Xhosa at the same time so it was easier to understand.

JJ: I was scared because of (long pause) the White teachers and when I was in the Eastern Cape (pause) I was used to the Xhosa learners and the Xhosa (pause) teachers there.

Of special note is the reason II provides for not speaking English outside school, II explains that she speaks her language outside school because her family and community believe that the children are going to forget their Tswana culture and adopt more Western cultural practices. It was difficult to determine the language she speaks most predominantly as she switches from Sotho to Tswana and Sepedi throughout the interview. For example:

II: We didn't speak English 'cos some people say ore no English ke um, (pause) I'm say it in Tswana and then I'll translate ke. Um limi la magkoa, okay um limi la mabudu, so what that means ke ore, English is not um our mother tongue so we gonna bring our children (pause) teach our children our culture and not the White culture.

II: um sometimes I speak English in English class and then most of the time I'm speaking Sotho.

It is well understood and documented that children learn how to behave in a particular cultural environment, and within their socialisation through discourses, they acquire cultural models (Gee, 2001:719-720). It is also evident that cognitive processes are shaped by surrounding cultural contexts and practices. Thus, the type of instruction they receive influences language behaviour. Of course, linguistic features like verbal irony, puns and sarcasm differ from culture to culture, and are expressed differently in different texts. Experience with understanding story structure and Western narrative forms is thus learned in a particular cultural and classroom context. Johnston, Barnes and Desrochers (2008:129) explain that stories and rhymes are told to children long before they start to read by themselves. The importance of these forms of literature lies in the fact that they replicate conversational discourse patterns as they often have structure, sequence, plot devices and other features associated with a particular genre, for example, fairy tales. Since different genres have distinct patterns of organisations, it is assumed that this would allow children to predict how the story is going to unfold and what information is expected to follow. Johnston et al. (2008:129) report that if children are not exposed to stories in their early childhood this may impede "the building of this bridge."

To contextualise this information to the research, the interviews revealed that almost all the L1 participants had either English stories or fairy tales read or told to them at quite an early

age. If they were not physically read stories or transmitted stories orally like in the case of AA, resources were provided for them in the form of books, movies or stories in the form of audio books. AA listened to the audio books every night, so much so that he memorised the stories.

AA: I listened every night on my CD player and it would be all these Roald Dahl stories like *BFG*, *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory* and the *Great Glass Elevator* (pause) actually I could say it word for word (pause) so I think that helped me with my vocabulary because Roald Dahl does help with your linguistic techniques, phrases and how to make things more appealing.

AA: Yes, my brother and I are always going at each other with English, We always try to outwit each other because when I was younger, my brother used to always outwit me and I was like, when I get to high school I am going to learn all this English and I'm going to take him on. When I was younger my brother would always try to manipulate me with the English language, nowadays, I'm fighting back. I'm giving him grief, ma'am.

EE also mentioned the magical references to elves living in the garden inspired his imaginative abilities. DD's grandmother and EE's parents inculcated in them a love for old movies and in DD's case she was soon reading *The Wizard of Oz* and progressed to *Gone with the Wind*. Of special note is CC's startling confession that although being introduced to stories, fairy tales and movies, he has not acquired the love for reading novels and has never finished reading a novel in his entire life, including his prescribed set works. Most of the participants spoke about how the stories introduced to them have inculcated a love for reading and helped them with their performance in English. All the participants have experienced some form of indirect instruction articulating that they have to interpret the message from their parents. The L1 participants also use puns, verbal irony and sarcasm for humour and comedic purposes, with this forming a platform for understanding how language is manipulated.

BB: um well, speaking it at home and also my father would read bed time stories every night from when we were little until maybe the age of five. Um so um I think in that way I got into reading and I started reading when I was quite young um maybe like seven or eight years old was when I started reading books um and I've read quite a lot which I think increased my language skills quite a lot um ja.

- BB: Ja, every now and then like not often, it's not like very prominent (pause) ja every now and then it's like wow that's ironic, so um yes.
- BB: Um I think my mom is very direct in the way she speaks um my dad sometimes like says something and then you have to kind of like figure it out.
- CC: We had books at our house; we had movies, we could watch like *Cinderella* and things like that and we had all those books so we had all those opportunities available to us.
- CC: I wouldn't say it helped me to understand English more 'cos there wasn't much dialogue in fairy tales really 'cos I mean if you read it so I think it just helps you to be creative. It's not very (pause) it's not in an English way, to help you with your language. I have read, I just haven't finished a book because I would get to a point where I would just get bored with it.
- DD: Um definitely, my gran, mom, used to read stories and my gran used to sing to sing to me um my gran, she is a lover of old movies and books so she ...*Gone With The Wind*... *The Wizard of Oz* more intriguing than the book to reading more.
- DD: Um well I had a broader range of vocabulary of um just understanding English as a language and as you know more like not a society but as a way of life. You know like you can tell by the way someone lives that they English. In my family it is easy to see.
- DD: 'It's a beautiful day and the grass is so long, so long,' and then he would walk away, that means that I have to cut the grass or he would be sitting on the couch and be like, 'I'm really in the mood for coffee' and I'd have to make him coffee.
- DD: I think, it builds up the English language. So many books and stories contain Irony, puns, everything so you know English would still be English but wouldn't be as fun in my opinion. Yeah because it's like saying something but not saying it at the same time but it kinda gives you the main idea, I like that.
- EE: Um my parents would always read me stories and they would tell me a story, which is where I get my creativity from. In terms of fairy tales, my mom and dad always embraced fairy tales and always told me about fairies and pixies living in our garden and Santa Claus and elves and everything.

Story grammar has been the subject of many studies to help understand story level comprehension, but few studies investigate structural differences amongst stories from different cultures (Matsuyama, 1983:666). It is thus necessary for this study to establish whether L2 learners who have only been exposed to stories from their culture would struggle to understand the Western structure and genres of the novel. As illustrated previously, being exposed to Western style narratives prepare the children for Western modes of storytelling later on. Matsuyama reports on an article that analyses Japanese folktales read by children from varying cultural backgrounds and thus with alternate story schemata. When the Japanese tales were analysed in comparison to Western story schemata, interestingly results show not only that Japanese stories differ from the typical Western structure but these differences may be related to deep cultural values. Thus, part of the interviews aims to investigate whether the texts that were read to and by the participants influenced their comprehension of Western literary texts at school-level. Below are some of the results from this investigation.

FF has been used to Ghanaian folklore and oral stories told in the vernacular, and when she was introduced to *Red Riding Hood* by an aunt she could not understand why a wolf would interact with humans and want to eat a little girl, indicating that she was not used to Western imaginative literature and believed the story to be true. All of the other participants were also introduced to stories from their own culture.

FF: How can a wolf just get up and start eating a little girl? Like, that did not make sense, so I was like how can a wolf and a human interact? So I was just confused.

FF was first introduced to Western literature when she came to South Africa and she seemed to struggle to understand the context of the story. GG did not hear or read any English fairy tales or nursery rhymes, but he was exposed to Afrikaans ones and had a bit of indirect instruction. He also uses sarcasm and verbal irony with friends all the time.

GG: All I can remember is all Afrikaans nursery rhymes and stories (pause) Wolf en die Jakkals.

Except for GG all the other participants are not used to indirect instruction and are not aware of using sarcasm, puns or irony in their daily speech (English or the vernacular). JJ, who never spoke English until Grade 11, had to repeat Grade 11 because of her struggles with English and was just used to Xhosa stories in the verbal form.



JJ: I was just used to Xhosa and the Xhosa learners and the Xhosa teachers there.

So she was not used to any English resources or input in English from parents or teachers and was not exposed to being instructed in an indirect manner.

It is interesting to note that HH who was told stories in Mandarin had access to Western stories translated into Mandarin and although the stories were translated he was able to recognise them as Western stories as the pictures of the characters in the book was of White people and he found that hilarious.

HH: Asian ones except for a few English stories that were translated into Mandarin (pause) translated into Mandarin (pause) Jack and the Beanstalk um and what's that one with the gingerbread house (pause) Hansel and Gretel. Well, they turned weird because (pause) like Jack turned into Jeko.

HH: Well I could tell because that time the pictures said otherwise (pause) pictures in the book (laughs uncontrollably) and that did not look very Asian.

However, II, although she did not have any exposure to English stories or the English language in her foundational years, has been in English schools since primary school and got exposed to English stories there. II is able to make the connection between performance in English being related to language usage and having a literary foundation based on stories and reading and makes a valid point about English speakers being advantaged in that way.

II: Because a White person grew up okay not like an Afrikaans but a White and their parents read them novels and kiddies' stories and everything like that, where um Black children, when we were young we were left out to go play and we didn't really (pause) we just playing, playing, playing until we got to pre-school. (Pause) With White people there is stories and everything like that (pause) oh um no I was just saying it is harder to teach a Black person English than a White person. We grew up being taught in our culture and then White people grew up being taught in their culture.

#### **4.2.3. Prior knowledge**

Prior knowledge is the knowledge that participants have at their disposal when faced with the task of analysing and interpreting the author's meaning in context. It has been established that

when an author composes a text he brings to bear a large proportion of cultural precepts and cultural norms of structure, genre and manipulation of language. Readers thus require both textual and contextual knowledge in order to extract meaning from the text. Of interest to this study is whether the L1 participants have a better repertoire of skills than L2 participants, developed through interaction with other Western literary texts and English language usage.

All the L1 participants declared a fondness for reading, apart from CC who has never read an entire book, but values magazine articles.

CC: I do read magazine articles (long pause) not as sophisticated (pause) I read science um scientific um magazines articles. So there is a bit of high English there, sorry. When you read magazine articles they have um because usually magazine articles are very biased sometimes. So you would be able to tell if the person's emotional about something or if he is um passionate about an idea because I can pick that up, that's pretty simple to pick up.

DD is able to make inter-textual comparisons, as she makes references to the American novel, *To Kill a Mockingbird* and a poem by T.S. Eliot, which contains literary allusions; explaining that she was able to understand the period (1920s) in which *The Great Gatsby* was set, because she watched old movies.

DD: Well for me I do like the older stuff so it was easier for me to start learning to identify certain things, I mean even before we even read *To Kill a Mocking Bird* last year I knew what the hollers were (pause) when they quote something from the novel or something like "The Hollow Men", when they make references from many books, it's the same thing, but for American terms.

EE is able to compare authors and different writing styles, having learned literary references through watching old movies.

EE: The fact that *Shantaram* itself is a true story based on a man who had just escaped prison in Australia who moved to Bombay in India just sounds so enticing so I decided to read it ja (pause) I'm busy with it at the moment (pause) the way he writes (pause) he doesn't use just one tone he's got a comedic sense to it, the same as Stephen King, even though he writes horror he has a very good sense of comedy to him. It's very clever. So I like the clever writing styles.

EE: um you mean in Black and White? I think it was, *Cat in a Hot Tin Roof*, when I was younger (pause) *The One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* (sic), I saw that (pause) my parents are the ones who educated me in the older films as well as the new films.

AA is able to comment on how his interpretation of the novel is often different to the author's.

AA: I feel everyone was brought up differently and the way we were brought up will determine the way we interpret something (pause) for instance if I have gone through a certain situation and we read a poem and this one line could bring back a memory of the situation and that could create feelings or emotion that could come out, what you felt like during that time so that could impact your way of interpreting it. (pause) overall view of the novel that might be a different meaning, most of the time it will bring the same meaning but some people might overlook a certain line ma'am, whereas others will focus on that line because of their or because of what they might have gone through.

BB is able to attribute her struggle understanding *The Great Gatsby* to her limited knowledge of the vocabulary used, in addition to not fully comprehending context-based references.

BB: I struggled quite a bit to understand um like when I started reading it (long pause) I had to start again the second time (pause) but like certain words you don't really use every day because of the time and the place. So yeah I struggled with that as well um ja.

Contrastingly, the L2 speakers reported rather different scenarios. FF had very little exposure to fairy tales, nursery rhymes, Western stories or movies and did not interact with Native speakers of the language until she came to South Africa (SA) and entered high school. In Ghana she was only exposed to local stories and movies. FF did not study literature until she came to SA so she did not have any knowledge of figures of speech or linguistic conventions but is grammatically fluent. She believes that in order to be a good English speaker she needs to imitate English-speaking people but she does not read.

FF: Um it's only when I came to SA that I started to know these things but in Ghana we are mostly um Blacks and things and Coloureds and things (pause) it isn't um Whites it's rarely a White there so we never really knew those types of things. (Long pause) in SA I started to learn those things.

FF: because we know in their world so we need to know what they're really doing and things so I kinda want to know how they think too and maybe talk like them and things 'cos we learn English all the time but to be able to understand certain things you need to know what is going on with a person. So that will help me I think that will help me.

However, GG is an avid reader, having begun when he was around ten or eleven, when introduced to the Harry Potter books by his mother. Since then he has progressed to the Twilight Series, explaining that even though he is able to understand certain English references, he is not able to relate to them, on account of not actually having experienced them. GG was able to recognise some kind of violence in the 1920s, through having watched the Godfather movies; making an interesting point relating to forming a mental image, when watching something. HH, conversely, reads books comparable to, and including, Harry Potter and *The Lord of the Rings*, but finds novels like *The Great Gatsby* difficult. He is able to comment on the difference between English and Mandarin, especially the indirectness of English; as well as highlighting and acknowledging the connection to and importance of context in English.

GG: when I'm interested in a book, I read often like I read *Breaking Dawn* (pause) in one day. I enjoy reading and if I get into the book and it fascinates me then yes. I am able to recognise and understand them but I don't think I can relate to them 'cos I haven't had those experiences and if I had those experiences and if I had I would relate to something that almost happened to me like that, not exactly like that.

GG: 1920s? I'm pretty sure there was apartheid in America or not apartheid, but they had fighting (pause) all the movies you watch and all the stories you hear, well not stories you hear as the movies you watch, then you can kind of as well as when I read, can kind of get a mental picture of what I see and when I read that I could kind of see the set and see what happens.

HH used prior knowledge, albeit incorrectly, when he compared trains in Asia to American trains.

HH: Well I know they have food stores on trains in Asia.

HH reveals that he encounters problems when he tries to translate English concepts into Mandarin, due to the implied meaning often contained within English texts.

HH: well because when I speak Mandarin and I speak English, especially the indirectness of English, it's to me, it's two very different things, when I speak Mandarin, I, interpret it directly so um if it's English you have to see what is happening in the situation and try to figure out what's going on. Well for one, if there's sarcastic in Mandarin, they aren't really sarcastic they just tell you, as in English you have to look at the situation like what is going on and you have to see if they actually trying to tell you the truth or if they sarcastic.

II was introduced to English stories when she started primary school, but was not motivated to read after that, stopping reading in high school.

II: um reading became an optional thing.

II: I think they use more indirect (pause) or when a person is bothering them. They would not go straight to you and tell you to your face like a Black person would you know? Black people would go straight to you and confront you and um English speakers wouldn't do that. They would give you hints in a way and tell your friends.

Her impression and assessment of English speakers is that they are indirect, unlike Black people. II believes that there is a cultural barrier to her understanding and performance in English.

JJ does not provide expanded answers because of nervousness and lack of verbal competence in English. She did not speak English or interact with English speaking people, not having studied literature either, as she did English FAL. This resulted in her being unable to show proof of any prior knowledge.

JJ: I'm just nervous.

JJ: Ja bad like some of the words I did not know what they mean. Like when I have to communicate in English 'cos I didn't like, I was just not saying that sentence 'cos I didn't know like how to put a sentence like uhhh (gives up)

#### **4.2.4. Challenges in L1 class and in studying literature**

The challenges that both L1 and L2 learners experience in studying literature, especially learners' ability to understand implied meaning, following textual or linguistic cues,

rhetorical patterns of the text and author's manipulation of language, has been highlighted in previous sections. The target language context, experienced by L1 learners is often replicated in the text, not necessarily in the same manner but close enough to allow for activation of prior knowledge and the generation of images which allows them to connect with the author even though learners admit that interpretation is difficult at times (the reason for this will be explained later). Thus even though it is not always easy, access to prior knowledge, places them in a better position than L2 learners. To support this finding I refer to Van Dijk and Kintsch's (1978:364) comprehension models, which explain that "a comprehension model is an exemplar of reading that traces the reading process from construction to generation of meaning or understanding". In addition Van Dijk and Kintsch's (1978) model describes a process that a reader goes through from decoding to constructing meaning. Van Dijk Kintsch's (1978) theory refers to representations as a combination of verbatim, semantic and situational representations. This means that if a reader misses any of the levels mentioned by the authors, a communication link would be missing and this would have negative outcomes. In view of the theory mentioned, L2 learners who have displayed several limitations in respect of prior knowledge which L1 learners have evidenced to have at their disposal, the difference between the two groups impacts on the outcome of this study.

However, of interest to this study, is what the users of the target language themselves say about their challenges and attitude to studying literature and being in a L1 class in order for a comparison to be made. Once again data analysis is conducted against the backdrop of the broader aim of this study and the hypotheses. The multicultural voices reflecting shared and individual experiences may lead to an understanding of group and individual language behaviour.

All the L1 participants feel comfortable in the L1 class and have a positive attitude to the subject. AA specifically refers to his passion for writing as does DD, who articulates her need to use sophisticated diction to impress teachers while EE admits that while he loves literature his talent lies in being creative and BB and CC both rate their confidence level as high. So none of these participants present any negativity to being in the class or towards literature at all.

Understanding and interpretation seems to be their (L1 participants) biggest impediment. AA admits feeling a bit let down when his interpretation is different to the author's, but it is

interesting to note that he says that even though he is incorrect people will be able to see his reasoning through his justification for his answer.

AA: I think it can be a bit of a let-down because it can, sometimes, people misinterpret sometimes and through years of misinterpretation people can um cause problems in the English language (pause) the real interpretation (pause) person who wrote it wanted and how we completely misinterpret situations.

AA: Over explaining I would say I have a very bad habit of giving more than what is needed and I try to substantiate so much that even though I'm wrong people would see something in it so that people would mark it right.

BB reveals that she sometimes struggles with figurative language, in conjunction with not looking at the entire picture or overall context when she answers questions and knows when her answers are completely incorrect or off-track.

BB: I think I struggle to um, I struggle to explain um (pause) even (pause) I just don't understand the figurative language that is used (pause). Well I think I don't have a very broad view, like if I don't understand then like I think in my head, I don't know how to do this question and I make up a bunch of nonsense. I try to make it make sense but I know in my head it doesn't actually make sense.

CC admits to having a problem with either interpreting the text or the question, because sometimes his answers are completely wrong. Moreover, CC freely admits to being lazy, rushing through the text, without proper focus and attention to details, which correspondingly reduces his scores and the accuracy of his answers. He identifies the literature aspect of English to be where he receives the worst test or exam scores. Furthermore, while he articulates his phobia for studying and his aversion to completing a novel, he also refers to images being formed in his head, different to the author's original intent or concept, which leads to confusion on his behalf.

CC: Paper Two (Literature) is where I usually lose my marks (pause) it's because I don't give enough attention to the stories (pause) but the problem is when it comes to studying, I am not keen. The imagery he (author) is trying to put in your mind that would be a bit of a struggle because if you imagine something else then all of a sudden in the text but then you didn't imagine that in your mind (pause) kind of

confuses you (pause) you go back (pause) try and figure out (pause) try to understand that.

DD believes that a person's own interpretation, even if it differs from the author's, is not necessarily wrong, although she realises this may cause problems. Additionally she mentions that sentences with multiple meanings cause confusion for her.

DD: Okay um novels sometimes obviously depending on the author, um can have different meanings; people can interpret it as something else, I mean it's your own interpretation (pause) might cause a lot of problems in terms of novels. Sometimes in the text, it is not as clear as it may seem, there might be a sentence that might seem that there is a second meaning to a thing (pause) which one will make sense in terms of the text.

Finally, EE concludes, stating that figures of speech confound him. He can identify them, but cannot explain how the author manipulates the language to gain certain effects and themes.

EE: I struggle with figures of speech (pause) I struggle to explain it (pause) bit like (pause) in literature sometimes when they say the words irony in this word or what is exaggerated sometimes I am a bit taken aback.

In contrast to L1 participants, L2 participants appear to have more impediments to learning. In addition to difficulties with interpretation and figures of speech their level of confidence is matched by their level of experience and usage of the language. Interestingly enough participants like GG, HH and II who have been in English medium schools since primary school do not suffer the same level of discomfort or lack of confidence as FF and JJ. JJ's teachers taught English in Xhosa and the focus, much like FF's background, was more on grammar and her teachers were all L2 teachers who focused on translating Xhosa sentences into English. JJ judges her competency by being able to communicate with White people. II believes she is very confident and that she is doing well and believes that not being introduced to English at an early age has not affected her because she was taught English from seven years of age. Participants like FF and JJ seem to struggle a bit more than the others because of minimal exposure to the language, its speakers and the L1 curriculum which includes the study of literature. Both JJ and FF had to analyse literature for the first time in the L1 class and report to have found it daunting. JJ reports to have been afraid of



White teachers and found that being amongst White learners was intimidating. JJ and FF also articulate their embarrassment at comparing their level of competence against other learners.

FF: When I was here in SA that was the first time I actually did a novel. And I was like I did not understand the first time; I had to read three times before I really got what was happening 'cos even though we are taught about the history of SA in Grade 8 (in SA) I did not really understand what was going on.

FF does not understand the difference between L1 and FAL but when it is explained to her she is adamant that she would still choose the L1 class because of its superior status and identifies the global appeal of English and her desire to be on the same level as her peers. FF articulates that she feels insecure about the way she speaks, answers and practises speaking English and is sometimes affected by the fact that she cannot catch on as quickly as the others and feels lost at first, questions everything, asks around and tries to make sense of the information. Of special interest is that her attitude and work ethic appears to be tied to her motivation to become competent.

FF: I'd choose English L1 (long pause) English is an international language so being able to speak and if I go out into the world one day, I need to be able to be on the same level as everyone and choosing FAL would not allow (long pause) benefit me so I actually prefer English L1.

FF: sometimes I feel totally lost, I have no idea what is going on so I have to ask (pause) sometimes. I do understand but my understanding's not the same (pause) but in the beginning of, I am like what do they mean by this?

FF: well certain times I do feel bad because I'm like why am I not able to do that while they are able to do it.

FF: I understand but on a basic level, like I understand what's going on but not like maybe you know they always ask for the underneath, what's underneath, I don't get that, that's what I don't understand.

JJ: It was just essays and the verbs, the English was bad, also because it was a Xhosa school, we were talking Xhosa like it was English, most of the time in class.

JJ articulates that she, at times, understands the teacher, at other times gets lost, misunderstanding what the teacher says in class; however she never asks questions in an effort not to disrupt the class. This admission synchronises with her following disclosure, whereby she reveals that she doesn't like to speak in class, as she fears (through previous experience) that the other learners would mock her, on account of the way in which she pronounces words or about other mistakes that she might make. She also admits to resorting to Xhosa if she finds an English word difficult to understand.

JJ well, I can speak with the White people English.

JJ: Not all the time (pause) sometimes I get lost and just leave it (pause) I don't like to disrupt sometimes in class.

JJ: I feel bad because (pause) I feel bad because the accent between me and them is not the same.

JJ: 'cos they will laugh at me ma'am, the learners 'cos I might make mistakes and pronounce some words wrong and I'm scared of that.

JJ: yes ma'am I think they better than me.

JJ: in some words like when I don't understand, maybe I will take the sentence and try to put it in Xhosa. Sometimes I mix, sometimes Xhosa, sometimes English.

JJ like sometimes I don't understand and (long pause) and like the way they ask questions. They are very difficult. Like analysing, when I have to analyse something (long pause) the answering techniques ma'am.

GG sometimes struggles with implied meaning, together with interpreting the text and understanding or contextualising figures of speech. Sometimes GG resorts to Afrikaans, often then mixing things up. Although he usually thinks in English, he falls back to Afrikaans when he has difficulty comprehending and needs to understand a word. GG rates his competence in English as being absolutely fluent, and despite feeling that sometimes in the L1 class his peers answer or respond better, he never feels as if he is hindered by his lack of L1 speaking competence. Encouragingly and constructively, he says that he never repeats a mistake and can hold his own with L1 speakers. HH regards himself as an above normal (average) speaker and a good writer, but not in literature. He is not very forthcoming about his feelings, only

making an exception commenting on the behaviour of English learners, who he finds rude and disrespectful, which he says is uncommon in Asia. HH reveals that he struggles with novels like *The Great Gatsby*, especially with deep processing of the text, on occasion supplying too profound an answer when a question only requires a superficial response. HH also admits to resorting to Mandarin when he struggles with an English concept, but is not always successful, as the Mandarin language may not fully correspond to, synchronise with or extend to the English complexities or conceptualisations.

GG: I (pause) like I could always speak and like, I'd like to think I am quite fluent in English but obviously not like the others. I don't think I am the best English speaker but I think I can hold up my own.

GG: I do sometimes, other times I feel a bit like people know more because they are English and they put things better than I can put it but I never feel like it's a liability for me. I never feel like (pause) I learnt from it and then if I make a mistake once and then not make that mistake again ja.

GG: Sometimes, like a few times with words using Afrikaans, sometimes I mix words and sentences um sentence structure and ja.

GG: I am not really good with figures of speech.

HH: Well, it's the deeper understanding of things. Normally I just go um ask it or um I don't go that deep into it because when I read it as is, I don't go deeper into what he is trying to say. Because sometimes I go deeper into it and get it wrong so sometimes maybe it's the simpler answers.

HH: um more, well, because sometimes the Mandarin understanding is not the same as the English understanding. I'm not sure in what way but when I think maybe when I translate it into Mandarin I see how that sounds ja

II admits that she does not study for English tests and exams because she believes that most of it is 'just common sense' and while she believes that her confidence lies in the spoken language she needs help with literature. II can sometimes identify figures of speech but struggles to explain the purpose of the author in creating meaning and she finds analysing difficult and feels that her answering techniques are inadequate. Having multiple languages at

her disposal, II resorts to many languages when she struggles to understand or interpret a question or text.

II: It really hasn't affected me. 'cos I mean I was taught my culture and then I was taught English from seven years old.

II: when it comes to English, it's that thing ja ore (long pause) yes you do not have to study for English but some of the things are common sense.

II: um (giggles) exactly the opposite, I need help with literature too. Um when it's um figures of speech is asked most of the time you'd say it's a metaphor but then when you have to explain, it's quite, it takes time for me to get what I want to say.

II: I think it's how I interpret things (pause) at times, um I don't know, usually my interpretations toward to what I think the author is interpreting is well, ja, is interpreting quite different.

II: I ask myself in ka Sepedi and then try and find an answer ka Sepedi and then translate. Ma'am, it happens quite a lot with English.

II: um yes but then I find an answer in Tswana. I'd read the question in Sotho.

### **4.3. Questionnaire and interview data based on responses to pragmatic questions**

#### **4.3.1. L1 participants**

Responses from the LCT and interview were correlated and analysed in order to understand better how L1 and L2 learners interact with the text and whether epistemic and linguistic factors contribute to their interpretation of a literary text. Candidates were given a copy of the transcripts and were asked to verify the information contained in it and give consent for its use, which they did (Appendix C).

From the interviews and the test results, it is clear that AA, CC, DD and EE do not understand ambiguity and understanding is severely impeded by the use of the pronoun 'him' (Question 1.5) but although BB is fully cognisant of what ambiguity means, she also suffers the same setback as the others because of the presence of the pronoun. Many of the participants suggested that they could not explain the irony in the question (2.2.1) because they did not know who a "bootlegger" was but even when the meaning was provided they

could not explain the irony because the second part of the sentence required more knowledge of the period. DD relies on her own contextual knowledge to answer question 2.5.1 instead of focusing on the context although her answer is close to the expected answer. BB thought 'kike' was insulting to Native Americans, and thus provides an interesting answer in support of this interpretation. But through her experience with Disney movies she was able to explain what rajah meant. All the L1 candidates' responses to what they had learnt after the interview regarding answering techniques, most of them mentioned, looking at context and interpreting the questions better. CC was an exception because he found the one on one feedback really helpful and suggests that teachers do this more because it really helped him understand his mistakes better.

AA: Ma'am, ambiguity, I do not really know what it means but um as I said, I try to interpret as best I could.

AA: um ma'am I think it was I didn't know what a bootlegger was.

BB: I actually like I didn't understand so I was thinking like it was set in America and um in the 1920s like um America was very racial so I really wasn't sure and I tried looking at the passage to find the context.

BB: I know what rajah means because of Aladdin, um because it's the same, the princes that came and asked for her hand.

BB: I um learnt more about the American upper class; um I've learnt to look more at the context when deducing my answers um instead of just focusing on the one line.

CC: During the test, I completely forgot what ambiguity meant (pause) and I'm still fuzzy on what ambiguity means. Ja because when they say 'well I married him' she said um Myrtle said 'ambiguously.' I was a bit confused on what would be ambiguous about it.

CC: ah where I see I went wrong is with the linking, (linguistic cues) so that's what got me.

DD: yeah okay, so if you understand it and why it's ambiguous so you give them the underlying meaning instead of the superficial meaning.

DD: he knows a lot of people, being the upper class, they know people in authority like the Commissioner (pause) somewhere in the book, it mentions him with someone important, I don't know (pause) something along those lines (pause) you know people, (pause) illegally or legally.

EE: because I could remember, during like in a lot of films, they say he was a bootlegger and I would always see him busy with alcohol.

EE: I want to say irony but I'm not sure if it's irony but if you asked me to explain what's irony, I couldn't and then I can identify it (pause) or what is exaggerated sometimes I'm a bit taken aback.

EE: um actually, I learnt the whole part about the dialogue in terms of trying to link it together (pause) trying to link certain parts together.

#### **4.3.2. L2 participants**

Responses from L2 learners reveal that epistemic and linguistic factors contribute to misinterpretation of the text and that pragmatic knowledge is lacking.

All the L2 participants struggled with the question (1.5) which required knowledge of ambiguity, even though the concept was explained. Many of them used prior cultural and epistemic knowledge which did not match that of the author's and thus missed the intended meaning of the text. Question 2.4.2, which requires learners to illustrate their knowledge of how the wealthy behave, clearly revealed inadequate knowledge of Western cultural practices, particularly those relating to capitalism. A number of participants simply quoted from the passage, and when questioned in the interviews were not able to understand the meaning of the text in context. It is clear that the learner's answers are obstructed by a lack of suitable background knowledge and so interpreting the implied meaning proved to be problematic.

FF: In Ghana they call people with one leg bootleggers, because I always thought someone who because we used to call people bootleggers as someone who doesn't have a leg.

FF: well I did not really understand um what the um, the poet um the author was trying to say 'cos I was thinking (pause) 'cos someone pulling a leg mean yeah, I thought it was over exaggeration and stuff.

HH: I won't think of it too much because when you um read some of the 'threadbare' things I just didn't understand.

HH well I just find the closest word to it.

GG interprets the text literally, identifying that he has an inadequacy or deficiency relative to figurative language. He also uses his own beliefs to formulate answers (Question 2.2).

GG: I'm not good with figures of speech ma'am.

GG: I thought she might have been the drummer in the band (Question 1.6.)

GG: I think that he was adventurous because they were racing motorbikes or racing motor cars weren't they? I think he is cunning, sly and clever, if a person tries to um get passed the law and to speed.

GG: To understand first and to understand the context of it first.

JJ writes down the passage when she fails to understand the question or the context of the text.

JJ: No ma'am I did the passage, I wrote the passage down.

JJ: Okay, to answer, I'm not intelligent enough to answer these questions. I'm not good at answering them 'cos I do try at answering them.

II reveals her lack of knowledge about target language users' behaviour.

II: A White person would be all, well a rich White person would see it from afar (would not go hunting but watch from afar) (pause) people that earned a normal wage would be interactive with the tiger.

II: 'cos the way I see things is not the way, the um it's not the answering way of the question. What's expected to come out from the text.

II: um I think if a person is having an affair, they're gonna tell their loved one.

II: no because um figures of speech in English and Sepedi are quite different.

II understands now what she needs to do to interpret the text. She has learned and was able to understand that she needs to access the deeper structures within the text.

II: I would obviously read the whole context. That was hard for me to read and then um look, read, read, reading in between the lines.

#### **4.4. Concluding remarks**

Analysis of participant engagement with the literary text, performance in the test and discussions in semi-structured interviews provided insight into how participants access pragmatic features of a literary text. A juxtaposition of learner input and evaluation of test data, as well as a comparison between L1 and L2 learners, provides valuable insight into factors that impede learners' ability to engage with literary texts and negotiate meaning in the text. Learner responses provided valuable information which facilitates understanding regarding the acquisition and use of pragmatic features of a literary text. Information acquired in this chapter will help to promote better understanding of the multicultural classroom and the epistemic and linguistic background that facilitates the choices learners make when interpreting a literary text and why they may misunderstand content that relates to pragmatic knowledge. This may have further implications for the classroom context since teachers may believe that the questions are in line with the level of the Grade.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the extent to which school learners are able to interpret the pragmatic features of a literary text, and whether cultural differences influence the interpretation of pragmatic features of a literary text. Of critical importance to this study is whether there is a difference between L1 and L2 learners' ability to understand linguistic features, such as idiomatic and figurative expressions, but also the extent to which prior (cultural) knowledge influences the student's ability to extract meaning from the text. In order to narrow down the field of study, *The Great Gatsby* was chosen as a core text, and students were asked to complete a LCT, modelled according to the standard final-year test. In addition, students were asked to participate in a semi-structured interview in order to investigate reasons for shortcomings in the test. The data was then analysed and presented in Chapter Four. This final chapter revisits the initial research hypotheses articulated in Chapter One, taking into account pertinent issues that were identified in the data analysis, and aims to determine whether the study supports or refutes the initial research hypotheses.

#### 5.1. Research hypotheses

Below is a presentation of each research hypothesis, followed by a discussion of each hypothesis with reference to the data presented in Chapter Four.

##### 5.1.1. Hypothesis One: Pragmatic knowledge is essential to the comprehension and production of a literary text

Novels that are prescribed for Grade 12 learners usually contain semantic and pragmatically rich messages which are written according to socio-cultural norms that are determined by cultural patterns of discourse. Furthermore, texts are almost always written with a particular target audience in mind, and the pragmatic parameters established by the writer, situated within a particular culture and discourse community, often work to exclude users that do not belong to the community. L2 speakers of the same cultural community may be able to understand messages on a somewhat superficial level. However, it was hypothesised that L2 learners would find interpreting the pragmatic features of a text, including the use of

pronouns, cultural or historical references, idiomatic language, specific phrases, linguistic cues, and implicit meanings problematic. In the relevant extract from *The Great Gatsby*, the pronoun “him” was used in discourse and two males were mentioned, the Jewish character (referred derogatorily as “the kike”) and Wilson.

“I almost married a little kike, who’d been after me for years. I knew he was below me. Everybody kept saying to me: ‘Lucille that man’s way below you!’ But if I hadn’t met Chester, he’d have got me for sure.”

“Yes but listen,” said Myrtle Wilson, nodding her head up and down, “at least you didn’t marry him.”

“I know I didn’t.”

“Well I married him.” said Myrtle ambiguously. (Fitzgerald, 1990:36)

The writer purposefully created the ambiguity in order to compare the two men in respect of their inferior status. This linguistic device was lost on the learners, because they did not read the discussion in context, in order to identify the cues available to them. Both L1 and L2 learners looked at just the line “Well I married him.” And since they knew that Myrtle was married to Wilson, they assumed that Wilson was a Jew, clearly establishing the fact that interpretation in context did not take place. In creating confusion with the use of the word “him” the author expects the reader to infer that a comparison is being made between Wilson and the Jewish man in respect of inferior status since Jews were often stereotyped as being second-rate citizens. In order to make the connection learners had to have historical knowledge of the novel’s setting and social behaviour in order to disambiguate the word “him” and make the connection between the two men as suggested by the author. Since all the learners’ struggled with interpreting this question, it illustrates the fact that while L1 learners may have better pragmatic knowledge than L2 learners, L1 learners also struggle with some pragmatic features.

Furthermore, in the extract “and cried to beat the band all afternoon”, (Fitzgerald, 1990:37). GG, a L2 learner, interpreted the statement literally and thought Myrtle was in a band:

GG: I felt like that meant all the people that felt the same way that she did, like she was like she was part of the band basically. I thought she might have been the drum to the band.

As previously mentioned, Sperber and Wilson (2002:3) suggest that communication is not obtained by deciphering the words in a text only but by interpreting contextual clues thus inferencing the speaker's intention. In the following excerpt learners were asked to explain how the narrator reveals that Gatsby was lying about his adventures abroad:

with an effort I managed to restrain my incredulous laughter. The very phrases were worn so threadbare that they evoked no image except that of a turbaned 'character' leaking sawdust at every pore as he pursued a tiger through the Bois de Boulogne.

Firstly, references like "Rajah", "Bois de Boulogne" and phrases, such as "worn threadbare", disadvantage both L2 learners and L1 learners, but it is expected that L2 learners would be more disadvantaged. Correspondingly, Garrett (2002) and Eble (1994) as referenced in Chapter Two, demonstrate that the context and ambiguity would be difficult for L2 speakers, as they are far removed from the rhetorical world created by Fitzgerald. Learners' responses listed below reveal to what extent each group was disadvantaged or had an advantage over the other.

### **5.1.2. Hypothesis Two: Pragmatic knowledge differs between L1 and L2 learners**

In keeping with the findings of researchers described in section, 2.4., of Chapter Two (see Kecskes, 2000; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999a; Barry, 2003) as well as the research hypothesis, the current study found that pragmatic knowledge differed amongst L1 and L2 speakers. The L1 learners revealed that aspects of language socialisation helped the learners to acquire knowledge about rhetorical patterns, plot structure and Western narrative structures. Moreover, L1 learners refer to linking what they read to some previous experience or memory for example AA who believes that a certain line in a text would be interpreted differently by people who would possibly equate different experiences to it and CC who says that the imagery the author has in mind is often different to his.

Therefore a L2 learner, who can become indistinguishable from an L1 learner in terms of linguistic competence, is unlikely to demonstrate communicative competence on the same level. It was evident that learners who were not exposed to Western stories, narratives or discourse had difficulties interpreting such texts. These difficulties came through in a number of ways: superficial interpretation of the text, inadequate knowledge of target language norms and behaviour and difficulty with specific English phrases and idiomatic language

which they associated with their L1 instead of the target language indicates lower levels of L2 fluency according to Andreou and Galantomos (2008).

Furthermore, insufficient language socialisation in the target language resulted in L2 learners searching for meaning in their respective L1s when they failed to interpret meaning appropriately in the text (reference to Kim and Hall (2002) in Chapter Two). In contrast L1 learners' answers, even if they were not entirely correct could be somewhat justified and explained in the interviews, while the L2 learners' answers both in the LCT and in the interview, indicate almost complete miscomprehension of the test and interview question. In some instances L2 learners wrote lines from the core text in their answer, if it bore some similarity to the question. When asked to clarify why they did this, it became evident that the learners did not understand what the question, or what the extract, meant. The premise that early introduction to Western literature facilitates understanding and interpretation of such literature, was borne out in the research, which shows that L2 learners who were not exposed to such texts did not possess sufficient prior knowledge, in this respect, to assist them with implicatures see Hinkel (1994:1) Based on the premise that early introduction to Western literature facilitates understanding and interpretation of such literature L2 learners who were not exposed to such texts did not possess sufficient prior knowledge in this respect to assist them with implicatures. The interviews revealed that the literacy practices of L2 learners were vastly different to L1 in terms of parental involvement and availability of literature. Thus, L1 learners' approached the text with more confidence and ease.

Use of verbal irony, which Han (2004: 170) suggests needs the added dimension of cultural and social knowledge in order to be understood, adds to the communicative fluency of the L2 learner. This knowledge helps to create a platform for interpreting linguistic devices with conflicting meanings which are found in literary texts. Puns and sarcasm also form a platform to learners' understanding of devices used for specific purposes including humour which is also absent in the everyday usage of all L2 learners except, the Afrikaans learner who has English friends. Accordingly it can be surmised that his exposure to the language through interaction with users of the language has impacted positively in his acquisition of language behaviour that may be a bit different to his. The other L2 learners' responses revealed that they only communicate in their respective L2s and speak English only in class and with L1 learners which is not much because their friends are mostly from their respective cultures.

Research has established that language is socially and culturally constructed. In addition, studies by Graesser (1994:374) have evidenced that interpretation is facilitated by the cultural bridge between the reader and the author. This study has found that L1 learners were more familiar with rhetorical patterns in the text as well as the narrative and goal structure of western stories, and through exposure to narratives in the verbal and written form were able to build schemas to assist them. However, the L2 learners, who are in essence, outsiders to the target language culture, being socialised in their various L1's did not get the same opportunities to develop pragmatic competence which is essential for understanding nuances in Western literature. Furthermore, while the L1 learners spoke confidently about reading for leisure and how this contributed to the development of competence in all aspects of English, most L2 learners like FF, GG, and HH revealed that they did not read English novels for leisure nor could they connect to Western norms or relate to them. This establishes the cultural divide. Another factor that contributes to L2 lack of confidence or insufficient knowledge of Western norms or language behaviour could be attributed to limited exposure to the target language and its users. In communicating mostly with L2 learners who speak the same L1 as them, L2 learners of English do not gain valuable information about the target language through everyday language use which proved to be an asset to L1 learners in the early socialisation process. It is presumed that L2 learners would not necessarily reach the same level of competency as the L1 learners but they should be able to acquire references or expressions that normally elude their understanding. Of special interest to this study is that it was only the L2 learners who used their own beliefs to answer questions in the text, and some used prior knowledge from their own L1s to answer indicating insufficient knowledge of target language behaviour.

Moreover, it was found that the differences between L1 and L2 learners are also linked to how they experience the L1 class. L1 learners displayed confidence and produced positive reasons and highlighted strengths instead of weaknesses, without any discomfort while L2 learners revealed levels of discomfort, from being afraid to answer or ask a question to wondering why the L1 learners have more knowledge than they do, to trying to make sense by asking around or working harder at home to understand better. Interestingly enough, both L1 and L2 learners found the interpretation of the text, finding meaning and accessing deeper structures of the text to be challenging.

Differences between L1 and L2 pragmatic behaviour is evidenced in terms of the level of prior knowledge and how it is used to engage with the text. While L1s, through socialisation

and various other factors that were mentioned, are pragmatically competent, insufficient knowledge of pragmatic features and language behaviour proved to be a cultural barrier for L2 learners. All studies of the phenomenon described (Alptekin 2006; Sleffenson, Joag-Dev and Anderson, 1979) report in favour of cultural familiarity having a positive effect on reading comprehension. This study found that when learners are unfamiliar with cultural norms of the target language, they tend to use cultural knowledge from their L1s which impacts negatively on the interpretation of the text, as is the case of all L2 learners in this study as evidenced in Chapter Four of this thesis. All of the L2 learners in the present study revealed that they search for examples in their respective L1s or words that sound similar, and some even attempt to translate the question or the text in order to understand. This behaviour could be problematic according to Erten and Razi (2009:62), because different concepts may have completely different referents in different contexts thus creating expectations in the reader that that does not meet the author's.

## **5.2. Research aim**

How do L1 and L2 learners access the pragmatic and contextual aspects of a literary text, which is both rich in figurative language and includes many historical and culture-specific references? Stated differently, the research aims to investigate whether there is a difference in L1 and L2 learners' ability to comprehend the pragmatic features of a literary text.

Learners' scores in the LCT indicate that there is a difference between the scores obtained by the two groups. L1 learners performed better than L2 learners in both pragmatic features and non-pragmatic features of the literary test. Of special interest to this study is that the difference in scores is greater in the pragmatic questions than the non-pragmatic questions evidencing the fact that while L2 learners may be grammatically fluent and can engage with the text in a superficial manner, they struggle more with pragmatic features. In addition, the marked difference between L2 learners' performance in non-pragmatic features and pragmatic features clearly establishes the impact that insufficient knowledge of target language norms, literary conventions and pragmatic usage, has on L2 understanding and interpretation of a literary text. Overall results evidence in favour of L1 learners having better pragmatic skills and knowledge about how to use language in context. In the context of the research question, the difference in scores obtained from the study by the individuals in the L1 group also confirms the difference in pragmatic ability and communicative language ability. It is interesting to note that the difference between the highest score obtained in the

L1 group (by EE) and the lowest score obtained (by CC) reflects a difference of 36%. In terms of reading behaviour, and parental involvement, EE evidences a different level of parental involvement and family literacy behaviour. While CC does not mention much in terms of parental involvement in storytelling, watching old movies (which provides contextual information or prior knowledge), developing appreciation for mythical elements (elves in the garden) which are found in Western plots. In support of this interview data revealed that EE was able to identify references in *The Great Gatsby* because of prior knowledge from old movies to which his parents introduced him.

#### **5.4. Strengths and weaknesses of the study**

Knowledge obtained from the study allowed for a change in approach to lesson delivery with specific reference to providing background information, highlighting contextual factors, encouraging and coaxing responses from L2 learners who are usually afraid to answer. When a literary text was introduced at a later stage, the context was linked not only to other novels written in that period but a collage of the art and music of the period with the aim of enhancing interpretation and facilitating understanding. Students were also later required to work in diverse cultural groups and to research expressions and slang that were commonly used in that period and they had to use them when presenting their research. This allowed the learners to trace the historical, social and political thinking and behaviour of the period being reviewed. It also allowed them to feel empowered as the ones with all the knowledge for once and they did not have to be passive recipients. The images and lyrics of the period also helped provide background information.

Limitations to this study are linked to time constraints. More time would have allowed the researcher to re-test the learners in order to observe whether learners had actually benefitted from the corrective feedback. It is the researcher's own opinion that learners' sometimes do not fully comprehend, but indicate that they do for various reasons. For instance, as teenagers they often feel self-conscious being in close proximity to a teacher and may become easily distracted.

## 5.5. Recommendations

FF: Sometimes I feel totally lost, I have no idea what is going on so I have to ask around (pause) sometimes. I do understand but my understanding's not the same (pause) but in the beginning of, I am like what do they mean by this?

The above response is found in Chapter Four of this thesis serves to highlight the confusion experienced by learners who do not have the courage to ask for assistance from the teacher so she asks her peers for clarity. Learners like FF go unnoticed because they are embarrassed to reveal their shortcomings in the presence of more competent learners. Teachers should be especially knowledgeable on areas in a story that might cause miscomprehension and also be sensitive to learners whose prior knowledge may be different because of different cultural backgrounds. In support of this proposition, the results of the LCT evidences for more emphasis on communicative language in literary texts and developing pragmatic skills.

A further recommendation is that teachers of literature should be made aware of pragmatic content in literary texts and should structure their lessons so that they not only provide background information for the text being studied, but also empower learners with the skill of understanding communicative language and how to use it in context.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Han (2004) argues that L2 learners need to be exposed to the cultural belief systems and knowledge that constructs the identity of an L1 English speaker. The author does warn against L2 speakers adopting L1 speakers norms and behaviour FF in this study admitted to imitating L1 English learners in order to improve and think like them), but to learn through interaction and observation. To a large extent this knowledge should be made available to learners at an early age so that they can be guided to achieving a greater degree of communicative competency. It is not suggested that L2 learners would be on par with L1 learners should they become aware of the array of skills needed and begin actively researching the L1 English community, but their pragmatic skills should improve significantly.

In addition, it is recommended that teachers prepare lessons with the objective of activating prior knowledge associated with the text that is being studied as well as highlighting all referential information that may prove challenging to both L1 and L2 learners in respect of the setting, and the researcher's use of pragmatic content.



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## APPENDIX A

Candidate Number: \_\_\_\_\_

**All information in this questionnaire will remain confidential**

### 1. Personal Information

- Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ First name: \_\_\_\_\_
- Telephone number: \_\_\_\_\_
- Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

- Email: \_\_\_\_\_
- Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
- Year of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
- Place of birth: Country of birth : \_\_\_\_\_
- If you were not born in South Africa, how long have you been living in this country? \_\_\_\_\_

### 2. First Language (mother tongue)

- How many languages do you speak \_\_\_\_\_
- If more than one language, list them in order of proficiency \_\_\_\_\_

- What is your first language? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is the First Language of your mother? \_\_\_\_\_ your father \_\_\_\_\_
- Which language(s) did you speak at home as a child? \_\_\_\_\_
- Which language are you most comfortable speaking? \_\_\_\_\_
- Explain why you are comfortable with the language listed above? \_\_\_\_\_

### 3. Language of learning

- Language of Pre-primary education? \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_
- Language of Primary school education? \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_
- Language of Secondary school education? \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Write down the language you use in the following contexts and why:

Context	Language	Reason
at home		
At school		
Religious instruction		
With friends		

- From what age were you exposed to western literature? \_\_\_\_\_
- What is your parent's attitude towards English? \_\_\_\_\_
- Which aspects of English do you struggle with? \_\_\_\_\_
- Do you enjoy studying literature? \_\_\_\_\_
- If the answer to the above is No, state what aspect of literature study you find difficult \_\_\_\_\_

- Briefly describe your ability to understand and use figurative language: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

I VALUE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO BE A PART OF THIS RESEARCH

THANK YOU ☺

## APPENDIX B

Interview Schedule
--------------------

<u>CANDIDATE NAME :</u>	<u>TIME STARTED :</u>
<u>DATE OF INTERVIEW :</u>	
<u>QUESTIONS</u>	<u>OBSERVATIONS</u>
1. Cultural Background	
2. Language of communication	
3. Early language foundation/socialisation	
4. Literacy behaviour in the home	
5. Verbal and non- verbal exposure to figurative language and English references.	
6. Schooling	
7. Challenges in the HL classroom	
8. Confidence /competence in English	
9. Language behaviour outside the classroom	
10. Test analysis	
11. Feedback	

## THE LCT

Marks: 40

Time: 1 Hour

### QUESTION ONE

Read Text One in the Addendum and answer the following questions.

- 1.1. Did Wilson's wife respect him? Explain (non- pragmatic) (2)
  - 1.2. Why did Tom and Mrs Wilson not sit together on the train? (non-Pragmatic) (2)
  - 1.3. Identify and explain the figure of speech in line 19. (pragmatic) (2)
  - 1.4. To which group of people is the word "kike" insulting? (pragmatic) (2)
  - 1.5. Discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's words, "Well I married him." (pragmatic) (3)
  - 1.6. Identify and explain the figure of speech in line 34. ( pragmatic) (3)
  - 1.7. How does Myrtle feel about her husband? Explain why you think so. (non-pragmatic) (2)
  - 1.8. Does Catherine condone marital infidelity? Support your answer with evidence from the text. (2)
- (18)

### QUESTION TWO

Read Text Two in the Addendum and answer the following questions.

- 2.1. Explain the meanings of the following words in context:
  - 2.1.1. bootlegger
  - 2.1.2. labyrinth
  - 2.1.3. sinister
  - 2.1.4. turbaned
  - 2.1.5. rajah

5 X 1 (non- pragmatic-lexical features)
- 2.2. Read paragraph one and answer the following questions.
  - 2.2.1. Explain the irony in the words: "He is a bootlegger... cocktails and flowers. (pragmatic-figures of speech) (2)
  - 2.2.2. Why does the narrator feel contempt for the people who came to Gatsby's parties? (Pragmatic-inference) (2)
- 2.3. Read lines 33-44 and answer the following questions.
  - 2.3.1. Did the narrator believe Gatsby when he said he was educated in Oxford? (non –pragmatic-explicit) (2)
  - 2.3.2. Explain what is implied in the phrase, "he was pulling my leg." (pragmatic -idiomatic) (2)
- 2.4. Read lines 42-44 and answer the questions that follow.
  - 2.4.1. Explain how the author reveals that Gatsby is lying about his adventures abroad. (pragmatic-implicit) (3)
  - 2.4.2. How does the imagery in those lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge about how the upper class really behaves? (pragmatic-implicit) (2)
- 2.5. What does the incident with the policeman reveal about Gatsby? (non-pragmatic) (2)
- 2.6. Read line 49 and answer the following question and choose an alternative from below that best brings out the meaning of the phrase : "know you next time." (pragmatic-expression)
  - 2.6.1. The policeman will greet Gatsby by name.
  - 2.6.2. The policeman will stop him next time because he knows him now.
  - 2.6.3. The policeman will know not to stop him. (2)

(22)

18+22= 40 marks

## ADDENDUM

### TEXT: ONE

#### Chapter II

She smiled slowly and, walking through her husband as if he were a ghost, shook hands with Tom, looking him flush in the eye. Then she wet her lips, and without turning around spoke to her husband in a soft, coarse voice: "Get some chairs, why don't you, so somebody can sit down."

"Oh sure," agreed Wilson hurriedly, and went toward the little office mingling immediately with the cement color of the walls. A White ashen dust veiled his dark suit and his pale hair as it veiled everything in the vicinity-except his wife, who moved close to Tom. "I want to see you," said Tom intently. "Get on the next train." 6

"All right."

"I'll meet you by the news-stand on the lower level."

She nodded and moved away from him just as George Wilson emerged with two chairs from his office door. We waited for her down the road and out of sight. It was a few days before the Fourth of July, and a gray, scrawny Italian child was setting torpedoes in a row along the railroad track.

"Terrible place isn't it," said Tom, exchanging, a frown with Doctor Eckleburg.

"Awful"

"It does her good to get away."

"Doesn't her husband object?" 15

"Wilson? He thinks she goes to see her sister in New York. He's so dumb he doesn't know he's alive." So Tom Buchanan and his girl and I went up together to New York-or not quite together, for Mrs Wilson sat discreetly in another car. Tom deferred that much to the sensibilities of those East Eggers who might be on the train.

(some text left out)

The late afternoon sky bloomed in the window for a moment like the blue honey of the Mediterranean – then the shrill voice of Mrs. McKee called me back into the room.

"I almost married a little kike who'd been after me for years. I knew he was below me. Everybody kept saying to me:

“Lucille, that man’s way below you! But if I hadn’t met Chester, he’d of got me sure.”

“Yes but listen,” said Myrtle Wilson, nodding her head up and down, “at least you didn’t marry him.”

“I know I didn’t.”

“Well I married him,” said Myrtle, ambiguously. “And that’s the difference between your case and mine.”

25

“Why did you Myrtle?” demanded Catherine. “Nobody forced you to.”

Myrtle considered. “I married him because I thought he was a gentleman,” she said finally. “I thought he knew something about breeding, but he wasn’t fit to lick my shoe.”

“Crazy about him!” cried Myrtle incredulously. “Who said I was crazy about him? I never was any more crazy about him than I was about that man there.”

30

“The only crazy I was when I married him. I knew right away I made a mistake. He borrowed somebody’s best suit to get married in, and never even told me about it, and the man came after it one day when he was out.” She looked around to see who was listening. “Oh is that your suit?” I said. ‘This is the first I ever heard about it.’ But I gave it to him and then I lay down and cried to beat the band all afternoon.”

“She really ought to get away from him,” resumed Catherine to me. “They’ve been living over that garage for eleven years. And Tom’s the first sweetie she ever had.”

36

## TEXT: TWO

### CHAPTER IV

On Sunday morning while church bells rang in the villages alongshore, the world and its mistress returned to Gatsby's house and twinkled hilariously on his lawn. "He's a bootlegger," said the young ladies, moving somewhere between his cocktails and his flowers. "One time he killed a man who had found out that he was nephew to Von Hindenburg and second cousin to the devil. Reach me a rose, honey, and pour me a last drop into that there crystal glass."

Once I wrote down on the empty spaces of a timetable the names of those who came to Gatsby's house that summer. It is an old timetable now, disintegrating at its folds, and headed "This schedule in effect July 1922." But I can still read the gray names, and they will give you a better impression than my generalities of those who accepted Gatsby's hospitality and paid him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing whatsoever about him. 8

A man named Klipspringer was there so often and so long that he became known as "the boarder"-I doubt if he had any other home.

Benny McClenahan arrived always with four girls. They were never quite the same ones in physical person, but they were so identical one with another that it inevitably seemed that they had been there before. 12

(some text left out)

At nine o'clock, one morning late in July, Gatsby's gorgeous car lurched up the rocky drive to my door and gave out a burst of melody from its three-noted horn. It was the first time he had called on me, though I had gone to two of his parties, mounted in his hydroplane, and at his urgent invitation, made frequent use of his beach.

"Good morning, old sport. You're having lunch with me today and I thought we'd ride up together."

He was balancing himself on the dashboard of his car with that resourcefulness of movement that is so peculiarly American-that comes, I suppose, with the absence of lifting work or rigid sitting in youth and, even more, with the formless grace of our nervous, sporadic games. This quality was continually breaking through his punctilious manner in the shape of restlessness. He was never quite still; there was always a tapping foot somewhere or the impatient opening and closing of a hand. He saw me looking at his car. 21

"It's pretty, isn't it, old sport!" He jumped off to give me a better view. "Haven't you ever seen it before?"

I'd seen it. Everybody had seen it. It was a rich cream color, bright with nickel, swollen here and there in its monstrous length with triumphant hat-boxes and supper-boxes and tool-boxes, and terraced with a labyrinth of wind-shields that mirrored a dozen suns. (some text left out)

25

“Look here, old sport,” he broke out surprisingly, “what’s your opinion of me, anyhow?”

A little overwhelmed, I began the generalized evasions which that question deserves. “Well, I’m going to tell You something about my life,” he interrupted. “I don’t want you to get a wrong idea of me from all these stories you hear.”

So he was aware of the bizarre accusations that flavoured conversations in his great halls. “I tell you God’s truth.” His right hand suddenly ordered divine retribution to stand by. “I am the son of some wealthy people in the Middle West-all dead now. I was brought up in America but educated at Oxford, because all my ancestors have been educated there for many years.

32

He looked at me sideways-and I knew why Jordan Baker had believed he was lying. He hurried the phrase “educated at Oxford,” or swallowed it, or choked on it, as though it had bothered him before. And with this doubt, his whole statement fell to pieces, and I wondered if there wasn’t something a little sinister about him, after all.

“My family all died and I came into a great deal of money.” His voice was solemn, as if the memory of that sudden extinction of a clan still haunted him. For a moment I suspected that he was pulling my leg, but a glance at him convinced me otherwise.

38

“After that I lived like a young rajah in all the capitals of Europe-Paris, Venice, Rome-collecting jewels, chiefly rubies, hunting big game, painting a little, things for myself only, and trying to forget something sad that happened to me long ago.

With an effort I managed to restrain my incredulous laughter. The very phrases were worn so threadbare that they evoked no image except that of a turbaned “character” leaking sawdust at every pore as he pursued a tiger through the Bois de Boulogne.

“Then came the war, old sport. It was a great relief, and I tried very hard to die, but I seemed to bear an enchanted life. 45

(some text left out)

With fenders spread like wings we scattered light through half of Astoria-only half, for as we twisted among the pillars of the elevated I heard the familiar “jug-jug-spat!” of a motorcycle, and a frantic policeman rode alongside.

“All right, old sport, “called Gatsby. We slowed down. Taking a White card from his wallet, he waved it before the man’s eyes.

“Right you are,” agreed the policeman, tipping his cap. “Know you next time, Mr. Gatsby. Excuse *me!*”

“What was that?” I enquired. “The picture from Oxford?”

50

“I was able to do the commissioner a favour once, and he sends me a Christmas card every year.”

## APPENDIX D



Literature Contextual Test  
THE GREAT GATSBY  
Memo

Marks: 40

Time: 1 Hour

QUESTION ONE

Read Text One in the Addendum and answer the following questions.

1.1. Did Wilson's wife respect him? Justify your answer with evidence from the text. (2)

**No. She walked passed her husband as if he was invisible and spoke to him in a 'coarse 'voice'**

1.2. Why did Tom and Mrs Wilson not sit together on the train? (2)

**He did not want the people from East Egg (wealthy) people to be outraged by his illicit affair. It is implied that they would frown on his open display of infidelity.**

1.3. Identify and explain the figure of speech in line 19. (2)

**Simile. The reflection of the sky replicated the Mediterranean sea**

1.4. To which group of people is the word "kike" insulting? (2)

**Jewish people**

1.5. Discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's words, "Well I married him." (3)

**Her words signify that she married the Jew- but the 'him' that she refers to is Mr Wilson who like the Jew whom they consider inferior is socially inferior.**

1.6. Identify and explain the figure of speech in line 34. (3)

**Hyperbole. She exaggerates the sound and length of her crying in order to illustrate the depth of her disappointment**

1.7. Provide evidence to support the claim that Mrs Wilson considers her husband to be undeserving of her. (2)

**'...fit to lick my shoe'**

1.8. Does Catherine condone marital infidelity? Support your answer with evidence from the text. (2)

**Yes. She is aware that Myrtle although married is having an affair with Tom. She also refers to Tom as Myrtle's 'sweetie'**

(18)

## QUESTION TWO

**Read Text Two in the Addendum and answer the following questions.**

2.1. Explain the meanings of the following words in context:

2.1.1. bootlegger

**Anyone who makes or sells illegal alcohol**

2.1.2. labyrinth

**A maze**

2.1.3. sinister

**Evil, ominous, threatening, menacing**

2.1.4. turbaned

**Head gear worn by certain eastern cultures (Indian)**

2.1.5. rajah

5

(5)

**Indian king or prince**

2.2. Read paragraph one and answer the following questions.

2.2.1. Explain the irony in the words: "He is a bootlegger... cocktails and flowers." (2)

***She accuses him of breaking the law by profiting through the sale of illegal alcohol but she readily consumes his alcohol which is also against the law.***

2.2.2. How does the narrator reveal his contempt for the people who came to Gatsby's parties? (2)

***He mentions that the people who enjoyed themselves at the lavish parties he hosted did not even attempt to befriend him or get to know him. He finds their behaviour parasitic***

2.3. Read lines 33-44 and answer the following questions.

2.3.1. Provide evidence from the text that supports the argument that the narrator did not believe that

Gatsby was educated in Oxford.

(2)

***It was the guilty manner that he glossed over the phrase when he mentioned it as if he knew it was not possible. Also the sideways glance gives him away.***

2.3.2. Explain what is implied in the phrase, "he was pulling my leg." (2)

***That Gatsby was telling lies in a joking manner***

2.4. Read lines 42-44 and answer the questions that follow.

2.4.1. Explain how the narrator reveals that Gatsby is lying about his adventures abroad. (3)

- ***Narrator mentions incredulous laughter which means (sceptical, disbelieving, dubious)***
- ***Sawdust (no substance to story)***
- ***Phrases worn threadbare (told in the same way so often-rehearsed)***

2.4.2. How does the imagery in those lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge about how the upper class really behaves? (2)

*It is obvious he is not aware of how the wealthy upper class really behaves if Nick was able to see through his absurd stories. The story that he makes up is something that poor people would dream of. The behaviour of the wealthy is not to display their money or engage in frivolous pursuits to the extent that Gatsby's behaviour reflects.*

2.5. What does the incident with the policeman reveal about Gatsby?

(2)

*He is crooked. He uses intimidation to get out of a ticket. Also uses his 'connections' to intimidate the policeman.*

2.6. Read line 49 and answer the following question and choose an alternative from below that best brings out the connotation of the phrase : "know you next time."

2.6.1. The policeman will greet Gatsby by name.

2.6.2. The policeman will stop him next time because he knows him now.

2.6.3. The policeman will know not to stop him.

(2)

(22)

**TOTAL 18+22=40**

## APPENDIX E

### INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: AA

Interviewer	Good Afternoon
AA	Good Afternoon ma'am
Interviewer	How you doing?
AA	I'm good and you ma'am?
Interviewer	I'm good thank you, Umm, could you tell me a little about your cultural background?
AA	I was born and bred in English and Afrikaans and Celtic
Interviewer	Celtic?
AA	Celtic ma'am
Interviewer	Let's go there
AA	Okay ma'am
Interviewer	Tell me about Celtic
AA	Ah ma'am it's an Irish language, umm it's spoken in Northern Ireland, umm my father was born in South Africa but his parents, my grandparents were born in Ireland, ah they were raised and spoke Celtic so my father learnt Celtic and when we lived in Natal he always used to speak Celtic to me as a child, when we moved up here in ...
Interviewer	What language did your mother speak to you in Natal?
AA	My mother spoke to me in Afrikaans and English, she used...
Interviewer	So both Afrikaans and English?
AA	Both Afrikaans and English so I was a multi-linguistic child at that stage
Interviewer	Mmm
AA	When we moved up here in 2002, in Grade 2...
Interviewer	Can I just stop you there?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Can you say something in Celtic to me?
AA	Umm, ma'am no I forgot all that because I, I started learning it and then in Grade 1, ah my father left us
Interviewer	Okay
AA	So I lost all over the years, I can still read a bit of Celtic but I cannot speak it
Interviewer	Okay and how old were you when you left KZN?
AA	I was, Grade 2 but my birthday is at the end of the year so I was about five, I think
Interviewer	Five? KZN is predominantly English
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Afrikaans is really not spoken there
AA	Afrikaans is really small there, our second language there is Zulu
Interviewer	Yeah, so then you communicated in English all the time?
AA	I communicated with most of my peers in English and at home I communicated in Afrikaans and Celtic sometimes to my father
Interviewer	Never spoke English in the home?
AA	I spoke English very minimalist in the home, I spoke English with, when there were

	friends over because we lived in KZN, I would speak English to them and to my brother I would speak English because he was a very English student,so ...
Interviewer	Why did he become so English seeing there was influence of so many languages?
AA	Umm,ma'am my brother was ah born in Pretoria and he grew up completely Afrikaans, he couldn't speak a word of English, when we moved to KZN he found out that English was the intellectual language and he wanted to learn it so that he could become more influential
Interviewer	Let's talk about that, about English being the intellectual language
AA	Umm ma'am we see English as being the language that will get us further in life and because most countries speak English and English is seen as the most wide, worldwide known language, we see that as very influential, we can very far with English as opposed to Afrikaans, because Afrikaans is predominantly South African, so in learning English, we can learn to communicate with people better, how to influence people, how to interact with people
Interviewer	Okay, so umm, which language would you say you speak predominantly?
AA	Predominantly I speak English because my schooling career and my friends are predominantly English and at home, with my brother we speak mostly English to each other so I would English is my predominant language
Interviewer	Okay, so English. would you say that, that's your main language
AA	That's my main language
Interviewer	do you use another language, like Afrikaans...
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	What do you use that language for?
AA	Umm, for Afrikaans I use for more intimate situations with family and with friends that are Afrikaans, it helps me because I think I have an advantage to, speak another language fluently, I can share my feelings to other people who speak Afrikaans better and not trying to breach the barrier, I can, I can get over the barrier, I don't have to have, I can't find words to say to people, so I think it helps me then I think it helps me to be more umm, helpful with other people if they need explanations, if they are predominantly Afrikaans and all that
Interviewer	Well Pretoria is a mostly Afrikaans speaking community
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Predominantly, so it does help to have Afrikaans, umm, when you were growing up, when you were little, did you have access to English Fairy tales and literature, stories, nursery rhymes songs...
AA	Yes ma'am, from the age of six when we moved up to Pretoria, in KZN my mom never really read me stories but I always grew up with a very English schooling career, in grade 1, I finished the grade 1 syllabus in half the year, so I would spend the year reading books and reading nursery rhyme stories, such as BFG and that, when we moved up to Pretoria I listened every night to cassettes on my CD player and it would be all these Roald Dahl Stories, like BFG, Charlie and the Chocolate Factory, Charlie and the great glass Elevator, things like that ma'am, and I think I listened to one every night and I kept on listening to them and after a while I could actually say every word and repeat the whole story after each other, so I think that helped with my vocabulary because Roald Dahl does help with your linguistic technique, phrases and how to make things more, seem more appealing, so I think that helped me and I think listening to that every night and getting an imprint into

	my memory helped me with others as well, umm when they wanted, umm, helpfulness and when they wanted to be around me I was more happy to be around them, I was more helpful and I was more caring and happy to be around so I was more..
Interviewer	Okay, umm, did your parents have Storybooks in the house? Did they buy you books, literature, Fairy tales, any children's literature?
AA	Ma'am I think, because of the age we are living in today they didn't really buy me books, they were more into the technological ways of things ma'am, so I think movies and CDs was more of my English upbringing
Interviewer	So what was on the movies and the CDs?
AA	Ma'am, The movies I would normally watch with my brother and when there was words I didn't understand or things I didn't understand...
Interviewer	What type of movies?
AA	When I was younger I used to have the whole Jungle Book collection, used to have Toy Story, Disney was my favourite and it still today my favourite type of movies, so anytime I didn't understand something ma'am, my brother would stop the movie and explain everything to me and he would help me with my wording and if I did a sentence wrong he would correct me so I think that, it was through trial and error
Interviewer	Okay, umm, So your father never spoke English? He refused to speak it?
AA	My father spoke Afrikaans to my mom and he spoke Celtic to me
Interviewer	Never spoke English to you?
AA	He never spoke English to me, only time he spoke English was the last time I saw him in 2009, he only spoke English to me because I forgot all my Celtic
Interviewer	He wanted you to learn Celtic?
AA	Celtic, yes ma'am, he wanted me to have an Irish background
Interviewer	Umm, with all the languages going on did you, were you confused?
AA	Ma'am I was a bit, I would say hesitant because I did not feel at that young age I would be able to learn all those languages because I was surrounded by people that knew one language, sometimes two, such as English and Afrikaans and English and Zulu when I was living in Natal and so growing up learning four languages I was a bit hesitant and also a bit eager because I thought I could impress people and people would be amazed by what I know and what I can do and I would be placed higher up on the rankings so to say ma'am than most of the children
Interviewer	Umm, would you consider yourself a native English speaker?
AA	Today I would consider myself a native English speaker ma'am because of a very vast background of languages but predominantly I would say English is my main language and native tongue now ma'am
Interviewer	Okay, umm so if you are amongst people you feel...
AA	I feel comfortable speaking English
Interviewer	Being a native English speaker?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Okay, umm tell me about your primary years, in school
AA	My primary years I spent at two primary schools, ma'am I lived in Hillcrest where I spent my Grade R years until Grade 2 then I moved up here and I went to Lynnwood Ridge ma'am, Umm...
Interviewer	So English medium schools?
AA	It was always English medium schools, when I was in Natal it was much easier for

	me to get along with people there because I was with them from Grade R and till Grade 1 and Grade 2 its not really difficult to have a connection with people at such a young age, so it was quite easy to get along with people, when I moved up here it was quite different for me because I didn't have that connection at the beginning of Grade R where you make peers no matter who you are and so it was a bit difficult for me to adjust so I kept to a close little group of friends, I didn't flourish and didn't like expel and extend my boundaries, growing up I always felt English to be a challenge
Interviewer	Why?
AA	I don't know ma'am, when I... , when we moved to Pretoria my mom umm, pushed Afrikaans on us harder than when we were living in Natal because my father wasn't there anymore and she wanted to have a close relationship with us and she felt that if I spoke Afrikaans to her it would bring our relationship closer, so when we were growing I felt Afrikaans much more easier and English was a bit more difficult for me even though everyone around was speaking English, so umm, through my years I always used to be a 70 percent, low 70 achiever for English until I reached High school. During High school I was still a 70 percenter until I reached Grade 10, Grade 10, at the end of Grade 10 it was the first time I got a distinction at the end of the year for English which I was proud of myself, for some reason that gave me a midset where I can do English and I started doing much better in English in Grade 11 and Grade 12
Interviewer	So you think you're doing really well in Grade 12 at the moment?
AA	Ma'am I think I can be doing better compared to my Grade 11 but I wouldn't say I'm satisfied with my English marks now ma'am but I know I can press myself to do better and learn better techniques and all that
Interviewer	Umm, your parents or caregivers, brothers, siblings, friends, when you speak to each other, do you speak indirectly?
AA	Ma'am it's it varies from person to person, as I say, my relationship with my mom is quite close so we speak more lovingly and directly to each other, we don't call each other by first names as from respect, I do not follow the traditions of the Afrikaans traditions of calling people by "Ma" and "Pa" and going "Is ma hier?", I would say "Are you home, Mommy?", I would, the, (mutter) mixed Afrikaans and English by saying umm, The loving, The more loving affection I display in English but when we are talking I would talk in Afrikaans
Interviewer	To your mum?
AA	To my mom
Interviewer	So no verbal irony, no sarcasm?
AA	Umm, no not really, its, we have a few sarcastic jokes and all that going around, and that's (mumbles) interchanges between English and Afrikaans but there's no I would say, typical Afrikaans or typical English, umm, things that we say to each other like "ma" or "pa" or "Quini", my aunt or uncle "tannie" and all that, umm, I still, I, I think I show respect in the English manner more than the Afrikaans way
Interviewer	But with your brother is there verbal irony, is there sarcasm, puns?
AA	Yes my Brother always going each other with English, we always try outwit each other because now when I was younger my Brother always used to outwit me and I was like when I get to high school I'm going to learn all this English and I'm going to take him on. When I was younger my brother would always try to manipulate me

	with the English language, nowadays I'm fighting back (laughs), I'm giving him grief ma'am
Interviewer	Good, okay, so then the reason I'm asking that is the figures of speech we have in writing, is in what we use verbally as well, umm, do you think you have problems identifying and displaying Figures of speech?
AA	Ma'am I think I sometimes misinterpret, umm, things, umm, I seem compared to my friends and what we learn in class ma'am as you see I always might have a different interpretation of something because of what I've experienced and how I was brought up, because I, I feel everyone was brought up differently
Interviewer	Yes
AA	And that the way we are brought up will determine the way we interpret something
Interviewer	How do you, what do you mean?
AA	Ahh Ma'am, for instance he has gone through a certain situation and we read a poem and this one line could bring back a memory of that situation and that could create feelings or emotions that could come out what you felt like during that time, so that could impact your way of interpreting it
Interviewer	Wow, It, apply to novels because we are looking at your interpretation of the novel.
AA	Ahh Ma'am I think not every line based will be a different interpretation, it might be the overall view of the novel, that might be a different meaning, most of the time it will bring the same meaning but some people might overlook a certain situation or a certain line ma'am, whereas others will focus on that line because of their or because of what they might have gone through
Interviewer	Wow, that's a very mature perspective, umm, How do feel, what's your confidence level in writing?
AA	Ma'am I feel that my stories are never comedic because I'm such a comedic person, I see myself as a very light-hearted person
Interviewer	Really?
AA	Yeah, I think about myself as a very lively person but my stories I always try evoke feelings out of people, I always try get the person to feel something and to interact with the novel and sometimes it's a good thing and sometimes it's a bad thing because many times people will not understand my interpretation of it and may interpret differently because of my background and I place things of what I've experienced or what I've seen and I might have a different interpretation and I might feel like if I hand in this creative writing or piece ma'am that umm, the person who's reading it might get a different view on it and might not get the view I think I want to portray
Interviewer	Okay, What about language, grammar?
AA	Grammar ma'am I wouldn't say is my best friend, I prefer creative writing
Interviewer	Okay but your sentences are grammatically fluent; you don't have a problem with that?
AA	Ma'am I think I got above a average writing technique, umm, the way of portraying my emotions and how I want to create a sentence
Interviewer	Okay, literature?
AA	Literature?
Interviewer	Tell me about literature
AA	Ma'am literature I've always enjoyed it cause, umm, for me it's easy to understand the literature, sometimes the words that I read is not, umm, very easy for me to



	understand, but the way I will interpret it is I will read the sentence and I'll try get an understanding of the sentence and then look at the word
Interviewer	Okay, do you think being a native English speaker and having all the influence of reading and movies and songs and basically social mystery, umm, helps you in English?
AA	Umm Ma'am, it predominantly it really helps me a lot but sometimes I think as I think as I said before, I think it could be a bit of a letdown because it can sometimes, people misinterpret sometimes and through years of misinterpretation people can umm, can cause problems in the English language, as you have shown us this year that many people have taught us things and you've shown us how to interpret, the real interpretation that the poet or the person who wrote it wanted and how we've completely misinterpreted situations and umm, grammar ma'am and all that
Interviewer	Okay, let's look at your test now, 1.5 seems to be the bugbear, every single person got 1.5 wrong, mmm, the question is discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's words "...well, I married him...", Firstly do you understand the term or the figure of speech ambiguity, Do you understand what ambiguity is?
AA	Umm
Interviewer	It's a linguistic convention, what do you know about it?
AA	Ma'am Ambiguity, I do not really know what it means but umm, as I said I try to interpret it as best I could
Interviewer	Okay, let me explain what ambiguity is and then look at the test, the test, page 2, ambiguity means, it's a technique the author uses, firstly what it does is give you the surface meaning and of course maybe it might not make sense, then you have to use that to imply, and use that to look at what he is implying, that makes the meaning, people always say it has two meanings but what they actually mean is that most times the surface, sometimes your sentence is ambiguous unknowingly, you didn't know you're doing it, but most times then we use it as a technique, now the author will make it seem on the surface that there is this one answer or there is one way of seeing things, but underneath that or the other meaning would be what he wants you to arrive at, without giving it to you or telling you, so that's what ambiguity is. Do you think you will be able to look at the answer now? Or arrive at an answer?
AA	Umm Ma'am...
Interviewer	Very important in this sentence is who is "him"
AA	Ma'am "him" would be, his husband who is...
Interviewer	Okay let's look at that, to get the answer we have to read a little further, "So the clear voice of Mrs. McKay called me back to the room, I almost married a little Kike who has been after me for years, I knew he was below me" Do you understand what "below me" means?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	And you know Kike is a racial term? "Everyone keeps saying to me, Lucille that man is below you but if I hadn't met Chester he would've gotten me for sure. Yes but listen" said Myrtle, nodding her head up and down, "At least you didn't marry him, I know I wouldn't have." Myrtle Wilson says: "Well I married him", look at this him you've read the whole paragraph, who is the "him", according to your understanding of the text? Don't use the understanding of the book now or whatever, who is the "him" according to this paragraph?
AA	Chester ma'am

Interviewer	No, look again. "If I hadn't met Chester" Lucille said if "I hadn't met Chester, I would've married the Kike for sure" Can you see that?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Then Myrtle says: "Well I married him", According to this, the way it is written, who would you say she is married to?
AA	Myrtle right? She married the Kike
Interviewer	The Kike, now you know she isn't married to the Jew, she's married to Mr. Wilson. Chester is married to Lucille, Myrtle Wilson is married to Mr. Wilson, according to the passage she married "him", so the sentence is ambiguous. Sometimes in normal writing you can make a mistake like this, not realising that the "him" implies the Kike and not Mr. Wilson. (Cough) In this context the author has purpose in creating that ambiguity, What does he want to say because we know Myrtle is married to Mr. Wilson, not the Jew, so now that's the surface meaning, now we need to find what was the implication here
AA	Isn't that she's unhappily married
Interviewer	well You have to look at what the reference to the Kike is, he is inferior, he's unworthy. Can you get the answer now? She's married to Mr. Wilson who...?
AA	Isn't it ,he's quite more manly, seems better off than the Kike
Interviewer	This is the man who she said she isn't fit to lick her shoes.
AA	Ma'am, he doesn't deserve her
Interviewer	She's saying if she married the Kike, "I'm not physically married to him", "I'm married to someone just like him"
AA	I say he is comparing the Kike to Mr. Wilson
Interviewer	Yes, that's someone just like him, unworthy, that's how you must be able to arrive at an answer. Difficult?
AA	Yes Ma'am, just a smidgen (Laughs)
Interviewer	1.6, Identify and explain the figure of speech, and the answer is...
AA	Hyperbole?
Interviewer	Hyperbole, yes. What is your answer?
AA	Hyperbole
Interviewer	Oh yes, how did you get that?
AA	1.6, ma'am I said a hyperbole, she's over exaggerating that she cried the whole afternoon
Interviewer	Okay
AA	But I can't read your handwriting, I don't know what that says
Interviewer	How loud?
AA	How loud, umm...
Interviewer	Remember it has to do with the band now, if she cried the whole night, that means she cried the whole night to beat the band
AA	Oh...
Interviewer	The band, so you didn't mention how loud. Right that was good that you managed that, not many people got the hyperbole right. 2.1 I made a note that you have excellent vocabulary there, umm, why do you have good vocabulary? Did you get all of them right?
AA	I got 2.1, I got 2.1.1 and 2.1.4 wrong ma'am
Interviewer	But mostly right

AA	Yeah I got the other two right
Interviewer	Mmm, what would you say helps you there?
AA	Ma'am I would say that my brother is mostly the influence in my writing and because he is very good in English and he's got a very high vocabulary
Interviewer	Yes I know, I taught him
AA	And he, I always used to read his work, his pieces ma'am and he'd always try outwit people and his peers, he would try outwit people and use his knowledge of English to manipulate people and make them feel inferior
Interviewer	And then that motivated you
AA	That motivated me to...
Interviewer	But I don't see you doing it
AA	I don't enjoy doing it around friends and especially around teachers and all that, because I don't feel taht respectful ma'am, When I'm unhappy with a person and someone wants to fight with me, I'd rather fight with my words, thatn physically
Interviewer	Verbal Jousting?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Okay, right 2.2.1, Umm, "Explain the irony in the words bootlegger, cocktails and flowers" Is it the irony you didn't get? The Vocabulary? The Question?
AA	Umm, ma'am I think it was I didn't know what a bootlegger was
Interviewer	Okay, I'll tell you, Well you know what a bootlegger is, someone who illegally sells or produces alcohol
AA	Yes ma'am. Ma'am just let me find the bootlegger quickly. Ma'am isn't the, it because the bootlegger, he sells all the stuff and he's more of a, I was going to say <i>skelm</i> , he's more of a lower class society person and walking with cocktails and flowers, that's more of a upper class sort of feeling to it, ironic because a bootlegger whose place is lower class in society, he's able to...
Interviewer	Okay, remember during the American prohibition era, many people enriched themselves through selling illegal, that's why they sold booze illegally, to enrich themselves, that's one way to make money and we know that Gatsby was one of these people who made money off that. So, umm, you, the fact that it's not Gatsby that's moving it, he's talking about the people, they are drinking his alcohol, enjoying it freely, can you see the irony now?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	What is the irony?
AA	Ma'am its basically they judging him by applauding him in a way ma'am
Interviewer	No...
AA	Ma'am it's like they doing what he is giving to them but they are disdainful of the situation but they are doing it themselves
Interviewer	Okay, the thing is, what's ironic is that he sells alcohol, which is against the law, they are drinking his alcohol, which is also against the law
AA	So they...
Interviewer	So they are drinking his alcohol, which is illegal but they are judging him for being a bootlegger, they are drinking his alcohol, can you see the irony? What is the irony?
AA	It's difficult to explain in, for me ma'am, the irony is that he is, they are breaking the law but they are judging him, they are trying to act innocent, they are trying to take the blame away from themselves and putting it on the bootlegger
Interviewer	It's not so much blame, they don't even realise that they are being, ironic, they're

	behaviour, they don't even know they were being ironic, they didn't even think they were doing something wrong that was against the law
AA	They were putting the blame on someone else, well not really the blame
Interviewer	They were being judgemental
AA	Judgemental, even though they should be the ones who should be judged
Interviewer	They are also doing something wrong, they couldn't see it. So what would you say was the most difficult aspect of literature, for you? Because you did really well in your test, you don't generally struggle. You are a good English Student
AA	I would say that the most difficult part is misinterpretation as well as my over explaining
Interviewer	What do you think you struggle with in literature?
AA	Misinterpretation
Interviewer	Elaborate
AA	Do you want more ma'am? Over explaining ma'am
Interviewer	Explain <i>Over Explaining</i>
AA	Over explaining I would say I have a very bad habit of giving more than what is needed and I try to substantiate my answer so much that even though I'm wrong people would see something in it so that people would mark it right
Interviewer	And does that work for you?
AA	In most subjects, Yes Ma'am
Interviewer	In English?
AA	Probably not ma'am
Interviewer	Why's that?
AA	People get very irritated with me over explaining but I think people can see my point of view but the answer might be completely incorrect
Interviewer	Have you learnt how to access the answer from the text yet?
AA	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	How did you learn that? What is the technique you will be looking for?
AA	Ma'am I think it's having an open mind when you go through the question and not interpretation before you read the question, you should just go over the question and all the parts and then see what they are asking in the question and look for the answer to the question
Interviewer	What happens when you don't understand a word in the question?
AA	I go through the whole sentence and I read through the text and try to find what the word means. Explain the sentence ma'am and read through the sentence and take the question and the sentence and put the answer together, to see what they are looking for in the question
Interviewer	You look at it in context?
AA	Yes ma'am, I look at the line in context by myself and I read the question and by looking at the text I try to get an answer and then I read the question and see if my answer is correct and change it according to the question
Interviewer	Thank you Very much, all the best with your prelims and your exams and I wish you all the best and I thank you for sacrificing your time to be with us here today
AA	It's fine ma'am,

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: BB**

Interviewer	Good afternoon
BB	Good afternoon ma'am
Interviewer	How you doing?
BB	I'm good thanks how are you
Interviewer	I'm alright, ok tell me a little about your cultural background I assume you're a native English speaker.
BB	Yes I am
Interviewer	Okay
BB	Ummm ahhh I was born and raised in South Africa umm my parents are English so I speak English at home, ummm ja
Interviewer	So both your parents are English?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	And no Afrikaans?
BB	Umm my dad went to an Afrikaans boarding school
Interviewer	Okay
BB	So his Afrikaans is really good but he is English.
Interviewer	But his Culture, there is no mixing of cultures
BB	No
Interviewer	Your Culture is purely English.
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Can you tell me a little bit about your culture? What would you consider cultural?
BB	Ummm, umm I don't know ummm We English... so , I Don't know ma'am
Interviewer	What about, Ummm ... the way you think and the way you behave and any little customs?
BB	Well we celebrate, umm I think we don't really have much of a cultural, it's more religious so umm ... and like eat it the food that we eat is English food
Interviewer	What about behaviour
BB	Behaviour ... umm
Interviewer	Are there certain norms of behaviour or norms of language or anything like that?
BB	Umm, well we eat dinner at the dinner table
Interviewer	Mmmm
BB	Which I think would be cultural ummm (Short Giggle)
Interviewer	So you don't think that English people have something that other people don't have?
BB	Well I don't think, well I'm not so much English but more South African so umm like culturally it's more South African
Interviewer	Mmm
BB	Cause the generations before my parents were all born in South Africa
Interviewer	Mmm
BB	Ummm
Interviewer	Yes that's a good answer, but umm being South African you don't have a special English culture

BB	Ja
Interviewer	there has been a mix, is that what you are saying?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Okay Ummm, so you're always communicating in English?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Okay Ummm, tell me about the foundation of your English language usage like from the time you were little, how did you get introduced to the language?
BB	Ummm, Well speaking it at home then also my father would read umm bed time stories to us every night and we would from we were very little until maybe the age of 5
Interviewer	Okay
BB	Umm, so umm I think in that way I got into reading
Interviewer	Okay
BB	And I started reading when I was quite young umm, maybe like 7 8 years old was when I started reading books ummm, and I've read quite a lot which I think increased my language quite a lot ummm, ja
Interviewer	Okay So then ummm, and english music?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Tell me about your schooling you went to an English medium school all the time (yes) from primary school to high school
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Right So ummm, what would you say the confidence level in your English language usage is, in the English language
BB	Yes my confidence level is quite high
Interviewer	Quite
BB	Ja
Interviewer	Ummm Now being an English speaker do you think that ummm you're a South African native English speaker but you're in South African context, ummm if you look at the text The Great Gatsby ummm, the context, the environment, the setting is AmBBn
BB	Yes
Interviewer	And of course the period as well as the 1920's umm, how would an English speaker, a native English speaker in South Africa be able to relate to that text, where you able to relate to it
BB	Ummm I struggled quite a bit to understand ummm, like when I started reading it I wasn't really sure what was going on where they were, who was speaking, by the time I got to the end I had to start again, the second time I thought I understood it, umm but like a certain words you don't really use in every day because of the time and the place ( yeah) so that I struggled with as well, umm ja
Interviewer	Have you read other books set in AmBB?
BB	Umm, I have but umm they haven't been like of a very high level (mmm) like they have been understandable

Interviewer	Ok so it wasn't like something that you, you know of a prescribed nature Certain texts they were more modern (Yes) stories (Yes modern)
BB	It's a lot, like it wasn't...
Interviewer	Bestsellers
BB	Yes that type of thing
Interviewer	Ja You do get some information from them though, but maybe not at this level
BB	Ja, No not at this level like you kind off understand umm like there last part (yes) but other than that the last part I didn't get much knowledge from ...
Interviewer	Okay But you were able to relate to it because (yes) of most of your reading is based on best sellers?
BB	Ja
Interviewer	Okay Great, right umm we are going to look at your tests now, okay (pages turning) So BB ummm I'm very curious to know why you thought Kike was insulting towards native AmBBns, How did you arrive at that answer, I'm really curious? (Interviewer-Laugh)
BB	Umm...
Interviewer	You have to be really honest how did you arrive at that answer, insulting to native AmBBns?
BB	I actually like I didn't understand (Ja) so ... I was thinking like it was set in AmBB and umm in the 1920's like umm AmBB was very racial , so I really wasn't sure and I tried looking at the, (Interviewer-Laugh) I tried looking at the passage to find the context
Interviewer	No I like the fact thats why I'm asking- that you tried to find an answer to fit the context which is good, shows that you understand that whole contextual information, which is good, it's very good Right now look at um 1.5 and it seems to me that everybody failed to you know understand the ambiguity ... there umm you've got that wrong right
BB	Yes
Interviewer	So you failed to understand the ambiguity of, of the words and well I married him... So you chose to look at the word well
BB	Yes
Interviewer	I saw that, you didn't even look at the word I married him you didn't even think to look at the word him you used the word well (Ja) right, so which is interesting because umm well can't be ambiguous you know it's like Well you know it's like an expression
BB	Ja but it could be an expression or it could be umm well as in ...
Interviewer	Can we speak about this after we finish discussing this question (okay) Can we, then we will speak (BB-Giggles) can we speak about this umm, "In the sure voice of Mrs Nicky called me back to the room, I almost married a little Kike who has been after me for years" we know Kike is now a Jew right?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	He is something like a Jew, "Been after me for years I know he was below me" okay so you think that her was
BB	Umm, not of here slandered (inferior) ja inferior
Interviewer	"everybody kept saying to me Lucille that man is way below you" right so we are



	saying, so from this we gather that the Jew was regarded as inferior?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Right, he is something inferior and she almost married him but “if I hadn’t met Chester he’d of got me for sure” who he?
BB	Umm the Jew
Interviewer	The Jew , now so then she didn’t marry the Jew right
BB	No
Interviewer	Then Mrs. Wilson said “Yes but listen” Said Mrs. Wilson nodding head up and down “at least you didn’t marry him”, “I know I didn’t” then Myrtle says “ Well I married him” Who is the him that she married?
BB	Mr Wilson
Interviewer	But listen now “Well I married him” said Myrtle ambiguously see this is the term I asked you to explain (yes)“Well I married him” said Myrtle ambiguously but the reason that we had to look at ambiguously is because is she married to Mr. Wilson . is she?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	How can she be married to the Jew and Mr. Wilson, can you see that the him refers to the Jew
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Can you see that?
BB	So is Mr. Wilson a Jew?
Interviewer	Wait now (BB-Laugh) because you guys really struggled with this one
BB	Yes
Interviewer	So they are referring to the Kike this lady Lucille says she didn’t marry him (ja) she married Chester but Myrtle says “Well I married him” but the author quickly put in ambiguously, Why did he put in ambiguously, what does ambiguously mean?
BB	It means umm like it can be interpreted in two different ways
Interviewer	Mmm, so the first ways I married him is wrong because she didn’t marry him she married Mr. Wilson, What is the second way? What is the meaning now the second part of the meaning because now we are looking for an indication, what does it imply we know she didn’t marry the Jew
BB	So she married...
Interviewer	She is married to Mr. Wilson
BB	But he is of, he isn’t of the same, he is inferior to her
Interviewer	Thank you
BB	(Laughs)
Interviewer	Saying she married the Kike who is inferior, but we know she didn’t marry him what is the implication that’s the other meaning we have to find, the implication we have to find is that she is married to Mr. Wilson we know that?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	So she is married to Mr. Wilson who is a man like that
BB	Okay, I understand
Interviewer	Do you understand now?
BB	Yes I do
Interviewer	So what was, where do you think you went wrong there?



BB	Umm Well I didn't focus on him I focused on the Well umm, and...
Interviewer	How is the well and Ambiguous, can the well be Ambiguous
BB	No because the way I explained it in my answer doesn't actually make sense in the context
Interviewer	Ja
BB	So that's where I made my mistakes ,umm I should of looked at the umm the previous stanza and deduce from that what saying him (yes) is ambiguous
Interviewer	I thought you would immediately pick it up when she says "Well I married him" and then you will say ohh but she is not married to him she is married to Mr. Wilson
BB	I think it's also because I didn't understand what the word Kike means
Interviewer	It doesn't matter because she says below me, way below me
BB	Ja but Mr. Wilson could be a Kike (Laughs) I don't know
Interviewer	Even if you said that he was a Kike I would still get to see that umm this is, if this was Mr. Wilson she would of said differ to I almost married your husband
BB	Ja and it's just that it wasn't the same as that (Mmm) I didn't put the two together
Interviewer	Okay but Can you see that in a question like that you have to understand, did you understand what ambiguously meant
BB	Not fully (Mmm) like I understood, what I understand about ambiguously is that it has two meanings (yes) ummm but I don't think I fully understood
Interviewer	Okay Right umm Number 6 your figure of speech was for Number 6, 1.6
BB	Metaphor
Interviewer	Metaphor that's right, I want you to look at it again, she says she cried for to beat the band all afternoon, what is the reference here? It is to, think about a band, what does a band do?
BB	It makes music or makes a lot of noise
Interviewer	Ja can she every cry louder than a band
BB	No
Interviewer	So what is the figure of speech?
BB	Umm, hyperbole
Interviewer	Yes
BB	Ohh okay
Interviewer	(Laughs) And the answer is Hyperbole she exaggerates the sound and length of the her crying in order to illustrate a bit of a disappointment, why would somebody exaggerate , in this case she was exaggerating the crying
BB	Umm...
Interviewer	What if I said I cried load and long what am I emphasising?
BB	Umm ...
Interviewer	When does a person cry hard
BB	When you're really upset
Interviewer	Really upset
BB	So see exaggerates in order to umm illustrate to what extend it upsets her
Interviewer	Right, umm 1.8 Do you think your like knowledge of figurative language used is a problem or can prove to be a problem for you
BB	Yes definitely

Interviewer	Why?
BB	I think because I struggle to umm I struggle to explain umm even if I, sometimes I just don't understand how, the figurative language that Is used but umm even...
Interviewer	Why do you think that is so?
BB	Umm, because (Exhale) (Interviewer-Laugh)
Interviewer	Why? Umm, You have to be honest
BB	Well I think I don't have umm a very broad view , like I try to, like if I don't understand then like I think in my head I don't know how to do this question and I make up a bunch of nonsense (Both-Laugh)
Interviewer	Thanks (Both-Laugh)
BB	I try(Both-Laugh) like I try to make it make sense but I know in my head it doesn't actually make sense
Interviewer	I found 1.8 very interesting, because you disagree but then you provide the correct justification. You say no, and then you give the correct justification, because the answer is yes and the answer is "she is Aware that Myrtle is married but she is having an affair with Tom and she refers to Tom as Myrtle's first sweetie , that's condoning infidelity so what do you understand by the world condone
BB	Umm
Interviewer	Is she for it or against it does she accept it or does she complain about it, or does she reject it?
BB	Condone means she's against it
Interviewer	No it (no) means she (no) yes because (Both Laugh)I knew that's why if they asked you the question so the whole thing went (Both Laugh) that why I asked you that question so the whole thin went (Both Laugh) yes the whole thing went a bit weird there when (Both Laughing) immediately when I marked that question I asked myself Mmm umm Does she answer this question, does she know the work condone, I picked that up immediately alright how did you know, let's look at 2.1 how did you know umm that roger and Turban what it means, how did you know?
BB	Umm I know what rajah means because of Aladdin (BB-Laugh)
Interviewer	Because of Aladdin
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Who is rajah in Aladdin
BB	It's like...
Interviewer	The Genie (umm) Who?
BB	Umm because it's that same, the princes that came and asked for
Interviewer	Ohh
BB	Ja, Rajah (BB-Laughing)
Interviewer	Well great that's wonderful
BB	I Love animation
Interviewer	No I love it too, I'm just wondering who, but now I remember who, but for Jasmine
BB	Ja
Interviewer	Yes (Continue Laughing-Both), yes and Turbans?
BB	Umm well turban I know from movies (Mmm) umm the cloth that's around there heads is called a turban
Interviewer	Okay umm, and read 2.3.1 umm I was yes I was able to see that you got that right 2.3.1

	and ah it was tough and umm 2.3.2 you got that right as well, okay let's talk about the phrase "Pulling my leg" do you use a lot of idioms like that in your speech
BB	No, not really
Interviewer	Not really
BB	No, well the basic ones like ...
Interviewer	But your parents or people that you know in your community English people in your community, when they speak do they speak using idiomatic language
BB	Yes I think my dad uses quite a bit of idiomatic language
Interviewer	Okay and umm I irony
BB	Umm
Interviewer	Somebody in your family, your sister, your brother your friends, do they use irony when they speak
BB	No, not often more...
Interviewer	No but like I mean when you expose a verbal irony or written irony
BB	Ja, every now and then like not often It's not like very prominent (ja) every now and then it's like wow that's ironic (ja) so umm yes
Interviewer	So you have been exposed to it
BB	Yes I have been exposed to it
Interviewer	What about indirect ways of speaking in other words it's an English cultural thing not speaking directly right?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	So have you while growing up been brought up with in direct requests or in direct methods of instruction instead of being direct all the time
BB	Umm I think my mom is very direct in the way she speaks (Mmm) my dad sometimes like says something and then you have to kind of like figure it out from ...
Interviewer	Do you do that?
BB	Not often
Interviewer	But you do?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Okay, so it's part of your (Yes) communicative language (Yes) would you say , Okay do you thing that helps you to perhaps analyse things because it's part of your cultural construct , Make up
BB	Yes it does help a lot (Mmm)umm I do struggle thou to interpret something especially in this text umm there was a lot of
Interviewer	In Othello would you still struggle to answer questions like this?
BB	Umm with Othello , like if I read it for the first time by myself (Mmm) ummm like I then really don't understand but I mean if I refer to umm like the notes on (Mmm), on the page umm in modern English and when they explain it there are parts that I can formulate a understanding in my mind
Interviewer	What about, what other novels that why have done, Animal Farm?
BB	Umm Animal farm I think I understand animal farm quite well, (Mmm) because umm the text itself is very simple (Mmm) but it's got a lot of umm ... like it, it, it says a lot more than it actually looks, how do I say this
Interviewer	So implied meaning ...
BB	Yes there is a lot of implied meanings (Mmm) to animal farm, because the original text

	is rather simple , umm if you understand that he is implying this but (ja) saying that I think umm like I understand the text, I mean Animal farm quite well
Interviewer	Okay, Umm Right one of the things Mmm that umm people don't, that are not part of the native English culture struggle to understand how wealthy people behave, the wealthy rich white people or English people (yes) usually behave, because one of the questions was umm I think it was, let's have a look, it was umm 3.2 "How does the imagery in the lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge about how the upper class really behave" it was a good answer and your answer is ... "it creates a ridiculous picture which highlights his ignorance the words leaking sounders indicate that these lives have no substance, upper lives have never chased tigers, but then you know that they hunting they would hunt not chase tigers, so yes they wouldn't chase tigers but maybe they would hunt it, I don't know, would they? What is your knowledge of how the upper class behaves because you at least at an idea, you know, the other completely could not see that there is a difference between upper class behaviour and maybe poor people who suddenly have money and like Gatsby behaved?
BB	If think umm the upper class they often have people to do stuff for them
Interviewer	Right
BB	Umm like...
Interviewer	Go kill me a lion
BB	Ja (Ms.Badal-Laugh) like I don't, I wouldn't see them in the jungle hunting their own food with when they can easily like pay someone to do it for them and I think in our, in our society as well you can see that like many people's upper class have umm Domestic workers (Mmm) where as if umm if you look at people in the townships then...
Interviewer	Okay let's not talk about the South African context because (okay) we hear that he is a poor man, who suddenly has a lot of money but his behaviour with the money is different to wealthy upper class people, how is it different because you think he is ridiculous and all of that wealthy people won't behave that way what do you know about how really wealthy people would behave, if we look at the AmBBn society let's talk about the Rockefeller and umm what do you call those people umm I'm trying to think starts with a G and the Kennedies and the Onnasis they are like really Rockerfellers but like at the moment but truck is a bit flashy I wouldn't say, I don't know you know really wealthy people, because if you look at English society the class system is gone but they still go extremely wealthy people who behave in a certain way that people who, do you know about this, are you aware of it?
BB	Umm Not to a great extent (Mmm) but I have a bit of a idea (Mmm) umm I think people in upper class act as if they don't know how to do everything themselves they (Ja) can get other people to do it for them (Yes) and it's there umm they live in a very extravagant life style umm but then they spend money on a lot of things umm that isn't really necessary
Interviewer	Okay but that's how Gatsby described it, but Nick says that that's not how the upper class behave, the upper classes don't behave like that, the answer is that the upper class wouldn't squander money and they are not flashy like Gatsby they don't squander and spend money extra, they don't because they are so wealthy and they have had money for a long time they tend to lead a more classy life style so they don't have to prove anything to anyone now Gatsby doesn't know that only poor people would think that to show your wealth, the same thing happens in South Africa, as soon as they get a bit of money they buy a flashy car and they buy a flashy bling and whatever Gatsby , I think

	we even had a discussion in class about that , umm so you don't have,even though you are native speaking you don't actually know the truth about the true wealth and how they conduct themselves
BB	No
Interviewer	You never knew that (No) so your parents never came up in convocation
BB	No
Interviewer	Do you think it's because of the South African context that you
BB	Definitely
Interviewer	Elaborate please
BB	Yes ummm (Mumble) my family is not umm we are not very rich (Mmm) but umm like we because my mom doesn't work only my dad works so he has umm a decent income to support the family like we don't live very umm, like we don't have a lot of money umm, so and them also because like my who life it's been in South Africa and I haven't travelled a lot (Mmm) so umm I didn't really understand umm in the AmBBn context, because I haven't been to AmBB or (Mumble) but ...
Interviewer	Umm it didn't come through in the books you read or movies because knowledge like that for me being a umm , not an English L1, I'm not an English speaker (yes) but still my knowledge comes from reading and watching movies that's how I get to know how the Rockefeller behaved how the Onassis as opposed to maybe Donald trump and Paris Hilton (Ja) who are the complete opposite (Both-Laugh) they are extravagant, so I think and I'll find the extremely like that would say look down at them the super-rich, new money. (yes) flashy flamboyant flaunty distracting that's how they would look at it because I'm telling you this because umm it's interesting that you didn't know that, perhaps maybe you should ask ... your parents if they have an idea maybe they would, Right Thank you very much, do you think you have learnt something from this exercise?
BB	Yes I have
Interviewer	What have you learnt?
BB	I umm I've learnt more about the AmBB upper class (Both-Laugh) umm and I've learnt to look more at the context when deducing my answers (Mmm) umm instead of just focusing on the one line of the question they asked
Interviewer	Good
BB	Rather than just focusing on that, go back into the passage and deduce from previous lines
Interviewer	Do you think that your previous knowledge of English really put you ahead of other people like being an English speaker, your background your upbringing your knowledge in the language
BB	Yes I definitely think it does umm, like I don't struggle with English I umm, it's something that counts, like in the same I struggle with Afrikaans because it's not my first language (Yes) but I don't struggle with English
Interviewer	Yes
BB	Umm Because I speak English every day and I have been brought up in a English home
Interviewer	And the social customs that are mentioned or any kind of custom, cultural reference mentioned in the text would be familiar to you?
BB	Yes
Interviewer	Okay, Thank you very much and I really enjoyed this interview. Good luck for the

	exams
BB	Thanks mam

## INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: CC

Interviewer	Good Afternoon
CC	Good afternoon ma'am.
Interviewer	How are you?
CC	I'm good thanks and you?
Interviewer	I'm good. How did you find the test?
CC	It was more difficult than I thought it would be.
Interviewer	Do you think that it was because that it was different from your normal test or is exactly like...
CC	No I felt it was exactly like normal tests.
Interviewer	Okay.
CC	But ja.
Interviewer	But was it the whole test that was difficult or...
CC	No, no there was only certain sections I would say. I can't tell you what sections because I thought I got them right so...
Interviewer	Okay so when you wrote the test you thought...
CC	Yes I thought (Interviewer – "Tell me what you thought.") I thought that when I wrote it down I did get confused and writing down my answer but... I did feel like it was... was an answer worth a mark so...
Interviewer	Okay. Ummm, tell me a little bit about your cultural background.
CC	Um, okay my dad is Italian and my mom but I've growing up in a completely English environment. I don't think... well when you're young your dad, my dad would speak Italian but it still hasn't passed on, a few words maybe. And my mom's side is Afrikaans so I am pretty good at Afrikaans but I would say I'm English, born, English, South Africa, raised.
Interviewer	Why would, what would define you as an English speaker?
CC	Just the way I was brought up I guess. Just with the whole English... growing up speaking English (Interviewer – "Mm."), ja.
Interviewer	All the time?
CC	Yes ma'am. All the time.
Interviewer	And um, your parents they always spoke to you in English you say?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay. Ummm... did you have access to or did your parents tell you fairytales and (CC – "Yes, yes, yes.") sing you nursery rhymes?
CC	We had books at our house; we had movies we could watch like Cinderella and things like that and... (Laughs) We had all those books, so we had all those opportunities available to us.
Interviewer	What do you, what impact do you think nursery rhymes and fairytales have on you? How did it help you?
CC	I wouldn't say it helped me in... To, to understand English more (Interviewer – "Mm.") cause there wasn't much dialog in fairytales really cause I mean if you read it so... I think it just helps you to be creative. It's not very... it's not in an English way, to help you... with your language.
Interviewer	Did it inspire you to read more?



CC	No. I still to this day have not finished one book (Laugh).
Interviewer	You have not read?
CC	I have read, I just haven't finished a book. Because I would get to a point where I would just get bored with it (Interviewer – "Why?") So...
Interviewer	Why do you think...?
CC	I don't know. I enjoy watching movies more than reading a book. Because movies they, you don't have to... with books you read something and you don't understand it and then you get to another point in the book and then you realise that's what they meant in the previous... so I don't really enjoy reading books that much.
Interviewer	What do you think impedes your knowledge or impedes your reading ability, your interpreting ability?
CC	Just the fact that I read fast or something like that I don't concentrate when I do read.
Interviewer	Do you do the same thing with your texts? In your tests?
CC	I found that when I did do this test I did start reading pretty fast and then after I slowed down then I read over it again (Muttering), so what I do is read over it again, read the questions then read it again, like we've been taught. And, but ja. The first time I noticed that the first time I read something I don't get it the first time. And then only after a while I start to understand what's going on.
Interviewer	Okay, what do you think, being an English speaker, having done English your whole life, having... um, been instructed in English. Why do you think you struggle to access meaning or interpretation or meaning in the text?
CC	I... I really can't say. Umm... it's just, the way I interpret English to be. Can't really put a word on, can't really tell you why I don't understand a text or anything like that. But I mean I do, if I do really pay attention to what I am reading then I do understand it.
Interviewer	So you are sitting her and your saying to me that from grade eight to matric, you have not read a single prescribed novel?
CC	That's different because then (Muttering), because I haven't read animal farm by myself (Laughing by both), I haven't read Othello by myself, but if we read it in a class together then like with, um, what was that... Lord of the flies, we read it together in class then I would sit – we would read it in class but um, if I ever had to sit alone and read a book I would, no...
Interviewer	That must have impacted on your English marks?
CC	It could've. But I don't see how it's... like I do read, cause I do read magazine articles and things like that... I know (Laughter by both)... it's not as sophisticated as... I read science, scientific um, magazine articles. So there is a bit of high English there, sorry.
Interviewer	But don't you find scientific articles direct?
CC	Very direct ma'am.
Interviewer	And squarely and (CC – "Yes, yes.") the way it is...
CC	Ja factual and...
Interviewer	Factual, yes. SO literature is the complete opposite. So I don't...
CC	Okay, no but then there's also that thing with, when you read magazine articles they have um... because usually magazine articles are very bias sometimes. So



	you would be able to tell if the persons emotional about something things or if he's very... um... (Clears throat)...
Interviewer	Passionate.
CC	Passionate about an idea because I can pick that up, that's pretty simple to pick up.
Interviewer	But what about the writers meaning? In a text, in a novel. (Pause) Look, a novel is a story. Are you able to access a story?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay, what is it that you can't access?
CC	The imagery he's trying to put in your mind that would be a bit of a struggle because if you imagine something else and then all of a sudden in the text but then you didn't imagine that in your mind at that moment then it's... kind of confuses you. And then you have to go back, and then you have to try and figure out what's... so that say is a bit... trying to understand that.
Interviewer	OKay how do you rate your competency in English and language usage?
CC	I would say it's pretty good. I don't have problems with it. Some days are better than others (Laugh).
Interviewer	No I mean, look at your (CC clears throat) paper one which is language and comprehension (CC – "Oh ja.") and then you have paper two which is literature, umm...
CC	I, um, paper one I feel that I do strong in. And then paper two is usually where I lose my marks not because ...
Interviewer	Which is literature.
CC	Yes (chuckles) not because I, (Mutter), it's because I ... don't give enough attention to the stories and things like that because um, and with the poems. I understand poems when we do them and like that. I raise my hand in class and answer questions cause that's why I feel competent with it. But the problem is when it comes to studying... I'm not that, keen on studying. At home – self study. Not self-study! But keen on studying.
Interviewer	Preparing for the test?
CC	Ja, preparing for the test, yes.
Interviewer	And if you think you prepare for a test (CC – "Yes.") you'd be able to do better?
CC	Yes, much better.
Interviewer	What paper did you write today?
CC	Paper two.
Interviewer	And? How do you think you did there?
CC	The first part, I think... I struggled a little bit with. It was the poems. Um, it was an unseen poem. I got, I (Muttering), in most tests you read it and you think you understand it but in the end of the day when you get your test results back you, you fail miserably. So I fell I did get it and then only after I did the, did the poem did I realise some other things that I might of miss read in the poem but then it was too late to go back cause...
Interviewer	And then animal farm? The novel.
CC	Animal farm I think I did pretty well in it and I took the, um, the literary essay for Macbeth [Meant Othello] I think, I think I did well in the... I think I did well

	in the um, in those sections.
Interviewer	Mm, but have you ever experienced in the past when you've felt you've done really well and you got your mark it (CC – “All the time”)
CC	(Laugh) All the time (Interviewer – “All the time?”). Yes ma'am (Laugh).
Interviewer	And that has to do with interpretation. It has to.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Because one would look at interpreting a test or a text or a question and you think you've done well and then, what is it that goes wrong normally, do you think?
CC	I... See it's hard because sometimes I would interrupt the, the question wrong and sometimes I would answer it completely different to what they expected.
Interviewer	Mm [agreement].
CC	So what they wanted from me, yes.
Interviewer	They! The they that wanted it a certain way. How did they arrive at that answer do you think?
CC	(Pause) I'm rally not sure. Cause I guess it's just the educational system.
Interviewer	What does a teacher expect from you? Here's the novel (CC – “Oh, yes!”) what do you do? You get this novel (CC – “To interpret it to...”), yes. Let's talk about Gatsby. You get the story... you have to read it. And... You know the characters and what they do. But what is it, what knowledge is it that... the test looks for. The instrument.
CC	How well you can understand what's going on in the text.
Interviewer	You... (Both talk) you can understand what's going on. Do you think it's that because at matric level. We expect you to read a novel and be able to (CC – “Write...”) know the story and work, because it's (CC – “And how to make it...”), let's face it; a novel is very straight forward. (CC – “Ja, no it is.”) The characters basically write the story (CC – “Yes.”). But, what is some of the things that the writer intends for you to know?
CC	Can you elaborate on that?
Interviewer	Okay. If you're a writer, and you have a certain idea in your head. It's not just the characters that are busy... writing out the plot. You have a certain intention. You want your reader to get this message. And the more sophisticated the message is the more sophisticatedly it is... hidden from you. The more, more marvellous the book...
CC	(Laughs) Ja, that's how it seems to be especially with poems. The more they can hide from (Interviewer – “Yes, yes.”) You the more...
Interviewer	Because think about it. A child your age can write a poem or you can write a novel. But would it be accepted I the literary circles?
CC	No. Because it wouldn't be to standard to what the people expected it to be.
Interviewer	So when I matric novel is chosen. A novel like Gatsby (CC clears throat) which is a prescribed matric novel. A novel like animal farm. What do they want you to get from the text because those are novels, that are in elevated literary society respected. And as I said the most sophisticated or the more hidden the message...
CC	(Laugh) Ja. So they expect you to find out what the, the, the message is (Interviewer – “yes.”), they expect you to interpret it into words. To your own

	words actually.
Interviewer	Mm, so... how are the, how is the message hidden in the text for you to find? Where is it hidden? (CC – “Um.”) In your knowledge, you’ve done novels; you’ve done literature for awhile. Where is the message hidden? The ones that you have to find.
CC	Um... I’ve got one idea in my mind right now, but I don’t think it is right.
Interviewer	No let’s look at it (CC interrupts).
CC	The implied meaning behind certain things. Would that be classified as what you are trying to get to?
Interviewer	No, absolutely! The implied meaning because... okay lets...
CC	You mean behind what the text...
Interviewer	Okay let’s look at it as two types of meanings. Can you think of the two words that we are looking for?
CC	(Chuckles) Direct and implied? I don’t know.
Interviewer	Okay, Direct and implied yes! Superficial, deeper surface meaning. (CC – “Oh, okay.”) Because you always get the superficial meaning in the text (CC – “Yes, yes.”) but that’s not the meaning we are going to ask you. Why is it that we ask you to find the hidden meaning, the deeper structures?
CC	Isn’t it... just so we can... so we can identify, so we can learn that there is a deeper meaning so we can um, then also um, interoperate that, what the deeper meaning is. Cause it’s not always direct.
Interviewer	How would you rate yourself... in trying to access deeper structures in the test? Where would you rate yourself there?
CC	Okay. I would, to an extent. It depends. Because sometimes I would over rate, I would over try find out what the meaning is and then sometimes I wouldn’t at all and then so... I can’t really...I’m not sure if I could rate myself. Cause with that poem that we did today, ummm...
Interviewer	We have to talk about the novel
CC	Okay um... cause okay in this novel, I this novel I found the deeper meaning very simple (Interviewer – “Yes.”). Simple. Easily! (Pause) Okay ja no in this novel I found the implied meanings easily. But I’m not sure if it was interpreted in the way the teacher wanted to hear it. That’s how I feel.
Interviewer	Do you think you actually? Okay but we are going to go through the text just now. Right then we’ll see. What about figurative language?
CC	Figures of speech? (Mutters) Do I know them?
Interviewer	How do you perform? In a test, you get tested.
CC	Okay.
Interviewer	Your knowledge of figurative language, to be able to access it, to be able to understand it. And uh...
CC	I think, I think I can pick up on figurative language pretty... easily. Umm... some texts... okay if there’s a thing like, like the implied meaning combined with a figurative speech then it’s a bit difficult (Interviewer – “Mm.”[agreement]). But if there’s figures of speech like a, um... like irony or, um... would metaphor and simile count (Interviewer – “Mm.”[Yes]), ja those things or hyperbole and things like that then I would be able to get those.
Interviewer	Okay.

CC	Cause those are things I've learnt since... Pre-School basically. (Interviewer – "Okay.") Almost.
Interviewer	But do you think understanding it and implying it, is easy for you?
CC	It depends on the text really. Cause sometimes it's harder, sometimes it's easier.
Interviewer	Okay. Ah, growing up. Where you... um, spoken to in an indirect fashion. Um.
CC	Yes, all the time
Interviewer	Give me examples.
CC	Um.... I can't think of any at the top of my head but, I think in every household there's that indirect fashion cause I mean... that's just the way people are.
Interviewer	Speak about your household.
CC	Umm...
Interviewer	Speak about your household and...
CC	Okay, me and my brother, um, we will, we will always talk indirectly to each other. We will always, or make um, like, like you're a genius or something like that and not mean what we say (Interviewer – "You mean verbal irony."). Yea verbal irony.
Interviewer	Okay.
CC	And things like that same with my sister. (Interviewer interrupts)
Interviewer	What about your parents?
CC	My parents um... I wouldn't say there's much irony, um, um, indirect meaning because parents are... they want the answer now and, unless we are having fun or something like that then... I can't think of anything at the moment.
Interviewer	Did they instruct you sometimes indirectly? Or implied something?
CC	Not that I can think of.
Interviewer	Like it would be really nice if we could... (CC interrupts)
CC	Oh ja like ja, say if I was going to wash the dishes. It would be really nice if you, ag, if the dishes were clean when I got home or anything like that, then you would know if she wants you to wash the dishes. Or he wants you to do this or...
Interviewer	Any other example?
CC	I can't say (Laugh) you are helping me now to get those... so I wouldn't, I can't think of any at the moment.
Interviewer	(Pause) But sarcasm?
CC	Yes, all the time.
Interviewer	Examples?
CC	(Both laugh) (Clears throat) Um... Like would just reply to each other sarcastically; this is now with my brothers and things like that. It'll still be sarcastic replies like... "Are you going somewhere?" And then I'm dressed to go somewhere and I say no, I'm just dressing up because I feel pretty or something like that (laughter by both). So we kind of things like that, and um, same thing with my mom, same with my parents actually because i mean I feel like if you're going to ask a stupid question then you're going to get a st... Sarcastic reply (Laugh).
Interviewer	So you gave, you are fond of doing that?
CC	Yes very fond.

Interviewer	And do they do that to you?
CC	Yes, it's like a family thing so... (Laugh)
Interviewer	That you do it all the time?
CC	Yes. It's an expression of love (Hard laughter by Interviewer).
Interviewer	And with your friends, do you (CC – “Yes.”) do it with your friends a lot?
CC	Yes, yes.
Interviewer	Ummm... um, give me an example.
CC	It's the same examples I used for the, cause if you, if they ask something stupid or something like that then you would give them a reply as well.
Interviewer	Mm. Give me an example, you know?... what would you say to a friend?
CC	Umm... (Pause) I've been pot on the spot here now. I can't really think of anything, ah, you see I need to be in context, you see this is not really things I think about. Like I would just say it but I can't remember any situation where I actually used it. But I know for sure I do use it a lot.
Interviewer	Do your friends use it a lot as well?
CC	Yes, yes.
Interviewer	Okay, ah, so do you think, having grown up in this fashion, being you know, things said to you in implied manner and with innuendo, and you do that with your friends as well. Um, do you think that it helps you to identify (CC – “Yes.”)
CC	Yes, I do believe that (Interviewer – “Hinting.”) I do believe it helps quite a lot.
Interviewer	How?
CC	Um, because if you, um... because of everything when you speak outside you kind of pick up whether somebody is being sarcastic or not. So in the text it's basically the same. I mean with a text you can't really pick up emotion or anything like that but you, you just figure because you've used, you could've used the same lines before or something like and they'll show up in the text.
Interviewer	Yes.
CC	So it's the same thing.
Interviewer	Yes that's a good answer. Umm... okay so... schooling. What was your language of instruction from pre-school
CC	It's always been English.
Interviewer	Always been English? (CC – “Always.”) And up to secondary school?
CC	It's always...
Interviewer	It's always?
CC	It's, everything has been English.
Interviewer	(Paper folding) Do you have any friends who are... second language (CC – “Yes I do.”) speakers? And? (Pause) How do you perceive them?
CC	Um. I don't know they just... they are the same as me. I don't think anyone, any other culture is different from... another, just the language that could be... different because I mean... I have, with the sarcasm thing I have got, my best friends an Afrikaans... is native Afrikaans speaking but we still share the same sarcasm with each other all the time and things like that. So I don't think there is a difference really between cultures, just the different types of... um... language? Language ja.

Interviewer	And um, do you find. In your class; in the home language class. Do you find that people tend to look down on people that are second language speakers?
CC	Um. I think that second language speakers actually feel that they will be looked down upon but I don't think, I've never found criticism that is second language because it is there second language. I don't see why people would criticism that on that, like if they can't pronounce something properly or things like that.
Interviewer	Have you seen, I mean do you find them to be confident and... (CC interrupts)
CC	No.
Interviewer	Participating and do you, what has your experience been? As a native English speaker would second language people in your English class...
CC	No, but where I was going with that sorry. Was that, because they are not confident in their own way, they don't really speak out their, their... what they want to say. Voice their opinion. And when they are, and when they are... usually the only time they are laughed is when the teacher picks them out because they are being naughty in class (Interviewer – “Yes.”), because usually it's the second language children who... I don't want to be stereotypical here or (Interviewer – Mm.), but it's usually the second language children that don't really care about the class or something like that. They end up disrupting and the teacher will ask them and they will get it wrong – not because they are second language but because they are just disruptive.
Interviewer	Do you think they do that because they don't understand what's going on?
CC	(Exhale) it could be? It could be because they're just not listening. Many things.
Interviewer	Do they pick up the humour or the sarcasm or the (CC – “Yes.”) irony if the teacher uses it on them?
CC	Yes they do. Well (Muttering) by the expressions on their face and because they also laugh with or something like that because it's amusing but I'm not actually sure if they laughing because they feel embarrassed now or because they...
Interviewer	No not at them. What if your teacher is teaching and then he makes a joke. Or a pun or a... uses irony. Do they get?
CC	(Pause) I wouldn't be able to say. Cause I don't really focus, I don't watch other people all the time so, well not I don't watch other people (Chuckles). So I wouldn't be able to tell because I mean usually when someone's, when something funny is said the whole class will laugh and then even the people that don't get it just laugh so...
Interviewer	(Both Laugh) Have you ever done that?
CC	(Laugh) Yes. Lots of times.
Interviewer	(Both laugh) Just not <(incoherent)>
CC	After words you'd understand and be like “AH, I see what happened there!” (Both Laugh)
Interviewer	Um, okay the Gatsby was set in the 1920's, it was an American context (CC cough), would you be able to um... okay was it easy for you to... understand what was going on because we have to look at (CC cough – “Sorry.”)...
CC	Um... I would say it was pretty easy, this, this text was pretty straight forward, I didn't think you needed to know any of the... American... idiom? Is that right? American, just the American way of life during that time for this text. Maybe the train or the, the when they spoke about the fancy car things like that but,

	other than that I don't think you needed anything else for this, for in the text.
Interviewer	I think that you need a lot of information (Laugh).
CC	Okay! Well then...
Interviewer	To be able to get into that mind set (CC clears throat) because, one of the things that limits the persons understanding is not knowing the era or the text. Now ah, have you read any book that... was set in the 1920's?
CC	(Pause) Um...
Interviewer	But wait you said you didn't ... you hate reading...(CC interrupts)
CC	I have, I have. I don't hate reading... (Chuckle) I just, just...
Interviewer	Have never finished a book, a novel.
CC	Ja never finished a novel. Umm, I'm trying to think now if I have read anything in the 1920's... I don't, I'm... I'm not... I don't think so no. I don't think I've ever read...
Interviewer	What about movies?
CC	Ja, no like, like Godfather and things like that I've watched, so...
Interviewer	Do you remember in the Godfather the illegal smuggling was going on of alcohol?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	That was cold bootlegging (CC – "Bootlegging")
CC	(Muttering)
Interviewer	Yes?
CC	No, um, cause I think I put bootlegging as just the smuggling of illegal things or things like that. (Muttering) What did I say? I said...
Interviewer	Remember the word was bootlegger. (Paper folding) a bootlegger is a person who, in this text - In this context. A bootlegger is someone who...? sells illegal alcohol or sells alcohol illegally (CC interrupts)
CC	So it's only alcohol?
Interviewer	Mm. [Yes]
CC	Okay that's where I think I... (Interviewer interrupts)
Interviewer	And... Makes it and drinks it. Because of the prohibition you couldn't even drink it.
CC	During that era.
Interviewer	Yes.
CC	You see (Interviewer Cough) that I knew though (Laugh). See I knew, I knew that... for this text it didn't feel like it was a... um... jai can't see where I got it wrong there cause of that whole, that's why they called him a bootlegger in the first place because (Interviewer – "Because of the illegal, yes."). oaky I understand. I understand how that could go...
Interviewer	Right so... how would you rate your grammatical competence. Would you say your grammatical competence is higher than your... literature competence?
CC	(Pause) Yes (Emphasise on 'ye'). Yes I would say...
Interviewer	You did say that you do better in...
CC	Paper 1. Yes, um. It, cause in essays and things like that. (Pause) in essays um, I have a tendency (Chuckle), to write in very high language. I have a tendency to write in very high language. So not... (Interviewer – "Elevated.") Elevated ja,



	sorry. Um, but things like, that's usually when I'm writing it down. But when personal talking like this I can't... casue usually when I write it down, you would think about the word but now I can't think about the word. Now I have to say it straight forward and as it comes.
Interviewer	Okay. So let's look at your test. 1.4. To which group of people the word Kike, insulting. Umm...
CC	I've never come across this word so I dint know what that was.
Interviewer	Okay. Um, so you don't have any Jewish friends?...
CC	I have Jewish friends but um, it's not I've never, I've never, there is no reason for the word kike to ever come up so...
Interviewer	Do you think they would know? They would know the word kike?
CC	They would know the word kike. Because if it's insulting to their, um, culture then I'm sure they will know what it is.
Interviewer	1.5 discuss the ambiguity in Myrtles words "Well I married him."
CC	During the test I completely forgot what ambiguity meant. And I'm still (Chuckle) fuzzy on what ambiguity means.
Interviewer	Okay, ambiguity, and this is why it is interesting – many people miss this. Ambiguity means... it has two meanings. You have a surface meaning and you get an underline meaning. Now I'll show you why, first you understand the term now?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Lets see if you can access the answer on your own. Umm... Mrs Mckey, says: "I almost married a little kike, who had been after me for years. I knew he was below me." (CC cough) Now you can already see that the word kike is inferior.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Can you see it? Already it's inferior because 'kike... below me'. "Everybody kept saying to me" "Lucille, that mans way below you." Okay already we have to infer here, that is the feature of the text, of telling without telling. You know the implied meaning. The innuendo is here already, and we must pick it up, right. Then: "If I hadn't met Chester he would've gotten me for sure." Did he get her?
CC	No.
Interviewer	No. Why? Who is she married to?
CC	Chester.
Interviewer	To chester. Right? Now. Myrtle says: "At least you didn't marry him." She says "I know I didn't!" she says "Well I married him!" now the ambiguity is in the word <i>him</i> . "Well I married him." So, we know, who is Myrtle married to?
CC	Um, mister Wilson.
Interviewer	Mister Wilson.
CC	Who is the kike who is the inferior one so that is who <i>him</i> is.
Interviewer	Is it mister Wilson?
CC	That what?
Interviewer	That's the him that she is referring to.
CC	I'm sure that is mister Wilson.
Interviewer	Look at the context. "I didn't marry him." She says. "I didn't..." who is the



	person she is referring to?
CC	I'm sure it's mister Wilson? Cause she is...
Interviewer	This lady. Mrs Mckay.
CC	Oh I didn't!
Interviewer	I didn't. Who is she, they were talking about somebody just now.
CC	The kike.
Interviewer	The kike.
CC	Yes?
Interviewer	Immediately after I didn't marry the Jew. Myrtle says: "I married him." What is implied here?
CC	That, he, she married the kike who is inferior.
Interviewer	There we go the Jew.
CC	The Jew, sorry.
Interviewer	Now ... how is that possible? That she married the jew.
CC	Umm...
Interviewer	But we know she is married to?
CC	Mister Wilson.
Interviewer	Right.
CC	Because mister Wilson is the Jew. Isnt he?
Interviewer	Wait...
CC	Oh yes, yes! That makes sense now.
Interviewer	I want to go back there again. If you say... (CC interrupts)
CC	Because she married someone like him!
Interviewer	But hold on. If you say, if you say mister Wilson is the Jew, then the answer doesn't have to be ambiguous. Do you see?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	So... we have to look at why it is ambiguous? If mister Wilson was a Jew. Then she wouldn't be saying it ambiguously.
CC	Ja, because when they say "Well I married him." She said um, Myrtle said ambiguously.(Interviewer – "Yes.") I was a bit confused on what would be ambiguous about it.
Interviewer	There you go. Right. Now that you know, why is it ambiguous? Because when you made the connection to Wilson. Then the ambiguous fell away (CC – "Yes, ja."), then you have no reason for it to be ambiguous.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	See how you have to look at the text?
CC	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	It only has to be ambiguous because it's implied, the him is implied that she married the kike.
CC	Yes (Mutter).
Interviewer	Otherwise, you see?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Otherwise it won't be. Now because we have to work out, listen she's married to Wilson, she's not married, now we look at why is it ambiguous? So the

	superficial meaning is she is married to him. But we know she's not. What is the author saying then? Myrtle is saying what now? Whats the answer?
CC	That she's married to the Jew. Instead of Mister Wilson.
Interviewer	(Mutter)
CC	No, no! Not that she's married to <(Muttering)> (incoherent). That she's married to the Jew who is inferior.
Interviewer	She is not married to the Jew.
CC	(Mutter)
Interviewer	She is married to Mister Wilson.
CC	Okay, now you have confused me (Laugh). Cause mister Wilson is the Jewish person?
Interviewer	He's not. I told you if he was the Jewish person (CC – "But you just said...?") then the ambiguity would fall away.
CC	(Pause) But now I'm confused as well, because...
Interviewer	This him... links... her directly to whom?
CC	To the Jewish...
Interviewer	To the Jew. Right. That she married the Jew. But we know that she is not married to the Jew she is married to mister Wilson. That why it's ambiguous.
CC	Oh okay.
Interviewer	So we have to look like, we have to look at it this way – she's married to mister Wilson, shes not married to the Jew. So what is he actually saying implying?
CC	She's implying (Mutter). Now I have to express, this is where I get a bit, um... so he is she, um... so she is talking when she refers to him, she is referring to the kike, the Jew, the inferior person. Um, so... (Exhale). I don't know how to...
Interviewer	Something ties the kike to mister Wilson. What is it?
CC	Okay I think I'm still... I think I'm still not getting this (Interviewer – "Okay."). I still see mister Wilson as the Jewish person though.
Interviewer	He's not physically the Jew person.
CC	He's the inferior, um, he's the inferior... the person that is associated with the Jew. Or...
Interviewer	He has nothing to do with the Jew.
CC	Okay no, not associated, but um, he's seen as inferior as a jew would be.
Interviewer	Yes! There you go.
CC	Okay okay.
Interviewer	So, much like the Jew as seen as someone not worthy, below, inferior. So she's not physically married to him now we look at the literal... and now you look at the implication. That she's not physically married to him. But she is married to him in another way. Because Wilson is exactly like that, a person of very low standing.
CC	That makes sense.
Interviewer	Can you see how you have to work that out?
CC	Yes, yes.
Interviewer	Do you see how, if you say mister Wilson is a jew, which is what most people said, 'oh then mister Wilson has to be the Jew.' Then she's being direct, then shes not being ambiguous (CC – "Ambiguous.")

CC	Yea.
Interviewer	You see how much time you have to spend here in the context, figuring out (CC – “Figure out.”). The first thing you have to do here is work out why is <i>him</i> ambiguous. Because directly after she says “I didn’t marry him.” Which is the Jew; Myrtle says “I married <i>him</i> .”
CC	Even when I read this section of the text I started really getting confused, at only this section, the rest was fine but when I started reading that, I was... a bit confused so...
Interviewer	But that’s why you... (Interrupted by CC)
CC	But that’s why you really deeper, that’s what’s really going on there.
Interviewer	Because now that you know ambiguous, and can you see now how you have to work it out?
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	That... as I said to you if Wilson was a Jew, this would fall away.
CC	Ja, because then it wouldn’t be, cause then it’s direct.
Interviewer	Then it direct. So that is what, that is the trap. Now this is the mark of literature you study. And this is a three or four mark question.
CC	I’ve never ever gotten a question like that before though. I can’t remember anyone, ah, ever asking, in such a way – that ambiguously. If you give a text like that. So I would say that’s a high level, extremely high level, kind of question.
Interviewer	It is a level three or four question. Which every test must have.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	And that’s usually three marks. And it’s usually the question that brings down everyone.
CC	(Chuckles) Ja. That everyone gets, that seems to get wrong.
Interviewer	And can you see why?
CC	Mm. [agreement]
Interviewer	Sometimes it can be just a word. Sometimes... not making the link. Because immediately – I didn’t, I did – links... her there.
CC	Ah, (Interviewer – “And not.”) where I see I went wrong is with the linking (Interviewer – “Ja.”), so that’s what got me.
Interviewer	And also, the knowledge that you have now that she is married to mister Wilson, clouds your judgment (CC – “Ja, ja, judgment”). Because immediately saying “Oh, it’s Wilson” (CC – “Saying Wilson ja.” [Chuckles][Mutters]), isn’t it?
CC	Ja. But it’s not like that.
Interviewer	But forgetting, or trying to work (Muttering) overlooking the fact that there must be a reason why, there must be a reason two <(incoherent word)> here. It is clever writing and (Both laugh) and it is...
CC	I actually really enjoyed reading this, it sounds like a book that would be really interesting to carry on reading. (Chuckles)
Interviewer	Will you finish this book? (Laugh)
CC	(Laugh) Probably not! I would get half way and then lose my inspiration to read it. (Both talking at the same time <incoherent>)
Interviewer	I am not enjoying your... not reading (CC Laughs)... behaviour. Your non

	reading behaviour. Okay, 2.1.2 (CC clears throat), which is labyrinth.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	Why didn't you get that?
CC	Um, okay I was going to write down there that it was a... I've heard the word before. But I thought, my thought it was I... um, a holding place, that was my view of a labyrinth was, and I thought it would just be wrong so I didn't write anything.
Interviewer	Okay. Um, 2.1.4. Turbaned. Have you not seen, watched, look at your answer, read your answer.
CC	Sorry, 2.1.4?
Interviewer	2.1.4 Ja.
CC	(Paper folding) Where is it? Oh there. Wrapped in, okay turbine! I know what a turbine is. It's the, it's the um, cloth wrapped around the head. (Interviewer – "Yes.") Okay but so, when it said... is that the same thing (Interviewer – "Yes.") so it's just spelt? I thought it was like, "Turbaned", and then turbaned I sort of...
Interviewer	Okay here's a turbine, sitting there. But if it's on my head it's turbaned.
CC	Because I, the way I pronounced it just sounded like it was more of a cloth just been wrapped around something, and it was actually...
Interviewer	Look at the context, he says "Turbaned person."
CC	Ja, ja.
Interviewer	Like a, like a well-dressed person. A turbaned person means a person with a turbine on.
CC	Ja no. Because I didn't actually read back into the text where it was, I just read straight from the question.
Interviewer	Okay, so you just looked at it, again you have to look at a word it's called – vocabulary in context.
CC	Ja, because there was another question as well, which I... Labyrinth! Because I didn't tell me which, where it was situated inside the text, so I just, I looked for it but I couldn't find it so I, just that's why I skipped it as well.
Interviewer	Did you not find it in the text?
CC	No, no.
Interviewer	Okay. Um...
CC	Cause what I would usually do is if I didn't know a word I would look it up in the text and try find it, uh, the context... (Interviewer interrupts)
Interviewer	Do you know the answer now?
CC	For?
Interviewer	Labyrinth?
CC	No.
Interviewer	Okay. We are going to give you a chance to find out, because if you said you found it in the text, you would find... There it is... um... can you see it, I'm trying to find it. There it is, moistures length... the car. Here it is "...Labyrinth of wind shields that mirrored a dozen suns." Line 25, can you see?
CC	Labyrinth.
Interviewer	"And terest with a labyrinth of wind shields, that mirrored a dozen suns."

CC	I would interpret that to be... something got to do with many. So labyrinth, like um... (Exhale) see now I can't interpret it. You caught me on that one (Both laugh). Okay but a labyrinth, um, I've heard the term used before but I just (Interviewer – "It's years of experience") can't... (Laughing)
Interviewer	It's a maze.
CC	It's a maze okay. Okay, you see I was thinking on the line of a building but, it's a maze so...
Interviewer	2.2.2 (CC laughs) how does the narrator reveal his contempt for the people who came to Gatsby's parties?
CC	This... um I said – he says that um, that reading the names of the people... okay so, he said that the reading of the names of the people that he had kept in his... uh, kept track of attending the parties, um, would be easier to, to you would... okay let me just read exactly what I said...
Interviewer	Okay lets go to the text. He says...
CC	To, this part here. My reference was "... but I can still read the gray names and they will give you a better impression then generalities..." see I didn't understand what generalities was, I still (Interviewer interrupts)
Interviewer	But let's read further, because the answer is further, right in the passage. "... who accepted Gatsby's hospitality and payed him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing what's so ever about him." What is the answer?
CC	That they, even though they didn't, they didn't know who he was really they still... respected him...
Interviewer	No no, no. He's contemptuous remember? Lest go back – "Those who accepted Gatsby's hospitality" Right?
CC	Ja, they excepted it.
Interviewer	Right. "... And payed him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing what's so ever about him."
CC	SO it was a good thing that they didn't know anything about him?
Interviewer	No, no he's contemptuous. What does contemptuous mean?
CC	No idea.
Interviewer	No idea okay.
CC	Because I know what contempt means, but contemptuous, is it the same thing?
Interviewer	Yes. Somebody who is being... you know...
CC	Contempt to me sounds, is more of just happy with what's, just, just um... (Interviewer chuckles). Not happy but um... Just, okay... he's, he's okay with it.
Interviewer	Okay let me just educate you.
CC	Okay (Laugh).
Interviewer	Contemptuous means disdainful (CC – "Oh okay!"), scornful... (CC interrupts)
CC	Okay no, no, then that's where I would've, why I got it wrong there. Cause I didn't pick up the...
Interviewer	He is scornful, he's defiantly disdainful. And this is why – because they took his hospitality and they didn't (CC – "Ja.")...
CC	They didn't care who he really was. Okay.
Interviewer	So what is he calling them basically? Social parasites. SO therefore, that's where the contempt comes in. That they all came but they didn't even bother... 2.4.2. How does the imagery in those lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge

	about how the upper class really behaves? Can you tell me, what is your knowledge of how upper class people behave, English upper class?
CC	Um posh.
Interviewer	Posh, explain.
CC	They would... very very neat and clean and um, they would hold themselves up high and things like that. Not have the, only the most expensive, so ja.
Interviewer	So where they lavish and extravagant?
CC	Who? The people in the text or...
Interviewer	No English people. You know, wealthy people.
CC	In this day? In, in...?
Interviewer	In the past.
CC	Um, not all. But some were, I guess that's how they would hold themselves.
Interviewer	What did you parents or grandparents or... no, English people tell you about... what is done and what is not done...
CC	That they always controlled, okay no, that the posh people would like control themselves and they would, they would, ja, have those rules on things you can't do and you can do, things like that, they would be very... regulated.
Interviewer	Regulated as in?
CC	Like they would always do as they told. Not always do as they are told but they, well it would be passed down, so if the parents say you must not act like this and you must walk tall then it has to be that way otherwise...
Interviewer	Yes continue.
CC	Well that's, that's... roughly it though.
Interviewer	So did you not hear that the really wealthy upper crust would have a certain type of behaviour, that they would regard having extravagant things very... low class, and they would look down upon that, because one does not flaunt one's self.
CC	(Laugh) No.
Interviewer	Have you not been told that or...
CC	Um...
Interviewer	In your experience.
CC	See that's what I think of a rich person. That's what you basically think. Not what I think of a rich person now but in this context and what I thought it would be classified as. Like somebody who is snobby. That's what I thought.
Interviewer	Now, now you look at Gatsby. Gatsby is basically flaunting his money. He's buying this extravagant car and he's wearing pink suits and he's doing really extravagant things. Having all these lavish parties. Not even tasteful. So then is he giving the impression he is a rich person? Or wealthy, that he came up from wealth, grow up from wealth?
CC	I would say yes. But according to the narrator this is not how a wealthy person acted as.
Interviewer	Yes.
CC	But what, um, what I understood was that the way he said... well you... Well okay that's actually what I mean (Chuckle).
Interviewer	Because listen to his absurd stories. They are absurd.

CC	Ja they are absurd ja.
Interviewer	Because a rich person would not behave in that fashion. So he does not know the language of money. He doesn't know a person growing up...
CC	That's what I actually tried to get across here with my answer because...
Interviewer	I saw that, I saw you were almost there but you never quite get there.
CC	Cause (Muttering), I said that he made it sound... the narrator knew what he was doing, but the imagery that came into the mind was completely different from what... I can't... it's hard to explain, but ja.
Interviewer	See that's another difficulty that you have. I've watched that and I've heard you. What do you think it is?
CC	To interpret the, um, what I think in my mind onto paper.
Interviewer	To actually put it out, do you think it's actually, what is this problem that you have? Tell me.
CC	No that I can't... I've just known I've always had that kind of problem when I've been doing... when I've had trouble to interperate what I think in my mind on to paper and then it always comes out... a bit sketchy.
Interviewer	But is it from always formulating your answers incorrectly and not being corrected?
CC	Could be?
Interviewer	Have you had incidents where your teachers says – well CC you seem to be on the right track maybe...
CC	I've never had a teacher actually say that to me. So that could be a possible reason? Cause I actually like when I teacher does give feedback, right now I'm talking about in English, I've never had a teacher do that to me, but if it was in another class then they do, do that to me and then it's nice because then you learn from that but um... Miss "X", um she doesn't really do that one on one thing, because if we do our essays she doesn't get back to use about it, she just give use our marks and then we are over and done with it. And then, so we never be able to learn where we do wrong in essays and things like that... or even our text.
Interviewer	Okay, so you think that a child would have... or you would've benefited from... what do you think?
CC	From personal one on one, talking about the situation because like now, we are doing it now um, this helps me understand the text much more better than if I was trying to figure out on my own.
Interviewer	Remember I would like you to go away with skills from here because you never going to get this text again. Do you think if your give another text that you would be able to apply the skills you have learnt today?
CC	I think I would be able to, but I can't say for sure. Because I would look for, I would look for the things we spoke about today and pay attention to those things, look for deeper meanings everywhere. But um, I can't say that I would get better marks or anything.
Interviewer	Why?
CC	Because I'm not sure if I would be able to get it right.
Interviewer	Do you think that maybe you need practice in that?
CC	I guess I could use practice.



Interviewer	Why do you think your attention has never been brought to this type of thinking before?
CC	(Pause) I, I don't know. 'Cos I know we do this often in English and things like that. So... I don't feel like I do bad in it, I understand, but I just... I don't know, it's a rough area.
Interviewer	Do you think perhaps it's work, it's too much work, it's to many pupils, what is it that you can't, you know, be able to develop a skill because, it's this type of skill that you are going to use in the future.
CC	Jai know, I understand that. I just, I don't know. I can't actually formulate an idea of why I can't pick up that instantly when I read a text or something like that, I guess I need practice (Interviewer – “What are you going to look for...”), I need practice.
Interviewer	Yes, that's what I was going to get it (Laugh), I wanted you to say that (Laugh). But I don't want to tell.
CC	Just practice and practice.
Interviewer	Yes, because, do you think it's suddenly going to come to you?
CC	No.
Interviewer	It won't. And you know this type of comprehension, can apply also to your comprehension passages you know.
CC	Ja the text we do later.
Interviewer	Ja! So you can improve all around.
CC	So basically finish a book.
Interviewer	Finish the book CC! (Both laugh) finish the book. The reason that reading is important, if you read similar novels...
CC	You pick up more language, you pick up implied meanings and... You pick up everything.
Interviewer	Yes, the writers thinking and you can actually do something called intertextuality because if you did another novel, in the 1920's, and then you read this one, you already have references in your head. That you can apply, you know? And that's how it is. Well yes, I would actually suggest that you actually do some reading. Remember that being an L1 speaker you are held up as the ideal.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	One expects you to do well. One expects – well this child has... you tell me is there pressure on you to do well in English?
CC	Amongst my friends, well my, my close friend, um, he's Afrikaans and he actually gets better marks than me. He gets better marks than everyone, he gets 80's and things like that for his essays and stuff. So it does put a little bit of pressure on me, because I should be... better than him, because I have been grown up English and everything like that. He even went to an Afrikaans primary school. So it does, it is a bit of pressure. But I mean it doesn't...
Interviewer	And how do you feel when that happens?
CC	Ag, I just, ah... I just let it pass, I mean I probably should do something about it.
Interviewer	So attitude, motivation, work ethic is different...
CC	Well the motivation is there the moment I see it and I feel- ag well I should do better but then afterwards...



Interviewer	Lazy.
CC	Ja, and then the motivation just goes away.
Interviewer	And what comes?
CC	Laziness (Both laugh), you just wanted me to say that. (Both laugh)
Interviewer	One shouldn't be ashamed to say it...
CC	But no because, today we wrote that exam and um, he studied less than me but I know, you see, it's just, I don't know some people can learn... like have a better capability of learning things than others I guess. But then if that is my handicap then I should study more.
Interviewer	You know that motivation and work ethic is tied to... (CC – "Yes.") Results.
CC	Yes.
Interviewer	You know that?
CC	Yes I do.
Interviewer	I want you to say it.
CC	Um, work ethic and motivation is tied to results.
Interviewer	And?
CC	(Pause) Okay, um...
Interviewer	And what are you going to do about it?
CC	I'm going to do my, I'm going to... I can't say motivated myself (Interviewer laugh, both laugh). I'm just going to apply myself more and then learn more, if that's what needs to be do, well then...
Interviewer	Thank you very much, I really appreciate you taking this time of being interviewed and help me with my research.

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: DD**

Interviewer	Good Afternoon
DD	Good afternoon ma'am
Interviewer	How are you?
DD	Good Thanks and you?
Interviewer	Good, umm, tell me a little about your cultural background
DD	Umm, well my family is from Scotland and, well my father's side is from Scotland, my mom's side is from England and we don't really have much of a culture
Interviewer	So you are English then?
DD	I'm more Scottish but I do have English and Irish blood
Interviewer	What language do you speak at home?
DD	Umm, English
Interviewer	English
DD	Straight English
Interviewer	All the time?
DD	All the time
Interviewer	No other language?
DD	No
Interviewer	So, are there traditions or customs that you practice?
DD	Umm, well there is a tradition that my dad's side practices, it's called <i>WhiskyTrad</i> , short for Whisky Tradition, but I think they made it up, but it's pretty much we all get together and all the men wear their kilts and the woman just stay in the kitchen basically and they drink whisky
Interviewer	Do you actually do that?
DD	Yeah, well my Father's side does because they're all pure Scots
Interviewer	When does this take place?
DD	Uhh, it happens like 3 or 4 times a year, whenever we have... We don't see each other very much because umh my grandfather lives in Kilner Park and my great grandmother lives in Capital Park, so they're not very close, so when we all kinda get together, it's a big thing
Interviewer	So when everybody comes together do they only speak English?
DD	Only English, but in a Scottish accent
Interviewer	(laughs) Scottish accent Okay, but your immediate family, you, your mom, your dad, brothers, sisters?
DD	English
Interviewer	Your accent would you say is English?
DD	Yeah I would say so, definitely not Afrikaans...
Interviewer	Can you speak...(under breath: Scottish is not a language)
DD	Oh no it's not a language, but the....
Interviewer	Celtic?
DD	It's Gaelic
Interviewer	Gaelic yes

DD	It's the traditional language and that's only spoken by towns in the highlands, which still exist but very rare, very rare
Interviewer	Okay, but you were born in South Africa?
DD	I was born in South Africa
Interviewer	And your parents?
DD	Umm, my mom was born here, I'm not sure about my dad, but I think he was born here
Interviewer	Okay so your parents were born here and you were born here so you are thoroughly South African?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	Would you say your identity is made up of... or you have a South African Identity
DD	Umm, I would say half because I am very proud of my Scottish heritage, Umm, I am quite proud of the fact that I'm South African but more so Scottish because I don't like to be part of a norm in terms of school and socially I prefer to be different rather than...
Interviewer	But that's a personal preference now?
DD	That's personal but...
Interviewer	Yes that's personal but I'm talking about like your upbringing, everything you have experienced so far, would you say it's made up of South African experiences?
DD	Yes, definitely
Interviewer	Okay so a South African context has fashioned who you are?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	Okay, umm, so you have English friends?
DD	More English than Afrikaans, yes
Interviewer	So you tend to spend more time with English people?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	Okay, umm, tell me about when you little, did your parents read you Fairytale, tell you bedtime stories or sing songs with you and that type of thing?
DD	Umm, well my mom used to read stories and my Gran used to sing to me, umm, but ya, all in English
Interviewer	All in English, yes So then you think that umm, growing up did that inspire you to read more?
DD	Umm, definitely, my gran, she is a love of old movies and books, so she kind of got me started on reading Gone with the wind, the book, rather than the movie and umm The Wizard of Oz, the original, the book rather than the movie, kinda thing, I watched the movie too, ya I'd say with all the stories they told me, it was fairytale, it was more intriguing in a book than a movie, so I definitely got into reading a lot more
Interviewer	Did that help you when it came to your understanding of English, do you think?
DD	Umm, well I had a broader range of vocabulary of umm, just understanding English as a language and as a you know, more like not a society but more as a way of life. You know like you can by the way someone lives that they are English; In my family it's easy to see...
Interviewer	could you explain that?
DD	Umm, well in an Afrikaans, they are a lot more open but traditional, in an English

	family it's very, if you ask someone how you are, you're not supposed to say agg my dad did this, I'm not feeling great about my Grandma, you say "I'm fine and you?", the way they interact, you can tell they're English, you know, umm, in my family if you want have a personal conversation, you go somewhere and have a personal conversation...
Interviewer	With yourself?
DD	No ma'am (Laughs), Ma'am with somebody else, yeah, but yeah that's just my opinion
Interviewer	No, but that's what you've observed? And you're not allowed to show emotion?
DD	In my family, yes and Oh no, of course, but to a proper extent, you know, you can express that you're upset about something, not to the extent that you want to....
Interviewer	Can you verbalise it?
DD	Yes, you can but not like excessively like most people do nowadays, like they go on and on about how they don't like something, you say it once or twice, people get the picture, it's the end of that
Interviewer	Okay, tell me, umm, about the way you were instructed, were you always instructed directly, like "DD, you should do this", or whether sometimes in your instruction or in your instruction or your childhood instruction or as you grew up from Primary School or even until now, where you've been exposed to indirect instruction or implied instruction
DD	Umm, I'm not sure what you're asking
Interviewer	When you're sitting on the coach and there's something to be done, your parents would probably say to you something like, "oh that's nice, you sit there while I do this" as a means of getting you to do...
DD	Yeah, my... well for me, people ask me directly, they don't use Euphemisms, they say do something
Interviewer	So they don't ever imply things to you or sometimes use Irony or sarcasm?
DD	My dad uses a lot of sarcasm but I'm able to read him, like from my whole life
Interviewer	Well, that's what I'm going for, I mean the fact that in your culture there always seems to be double speak...
DD	Innuendos?
Interviewer	Yes
DD	Sometimes, well my mom's side it's a lot more direct, people say things that they feel, my dad's side they don't say things directly, they more cut corners that you're supposed to do something
Interviewer	So you have to now work it out?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	Can you give me an example?
DD	Umm, well my dad will be like, "it's a beautiful and the grass is so long, so long" and then he would walk away, that's means I have to cut the grass, so, yeah that's a basic example of what my dad would do, or he would go, be sitting on the couch and be like, "I'm really in the mood for coffee" and then I'd have to make him coffee, so yeah, you know generalised stuff
Interviewer	That's excellent, the reason I'm asking is because if it's part of you repertoire, your identity, then you are able to access it in the text, when you see irony much better than someone who's perhaps only had direct instructions, do you use irony, puns and

	sarcasm a lot?
DD	I do...
Interviewer	With your friends?
DD	Ya, with my friends I do, well my dad I have to restrict that because my dad's family is quite outspoken, umm, but generally I do use it quite often, In a way my friends would understand
Interviewer	Do you think it's part of English culture, to do that?
DD	Yeah I think, It builds up the English language, so many books and stories contain Irony, puns, everything, so you know English would still be English but wouldn't be as fun in my opinion
Interviewer	Fun?
DD	Yeah, because it's like saying something but not saying at the same time, but it kind of gives you the main idea, I like that
Interviewer	How does it make it fun?
DD	It's just interesting, instead of being, like, a boring language, you know, where you just say something and that's it, instead you can be like, I can't think of an example but you can just express yourself more easily using puns or humour or in any way
Interviewer	Umm, you've read To kill a mock... I'm sorry, The Great Gatsby
DD	Yeah,
Interviewer	And one of the things about the Gatsby is, they always imply Gatsby is a criminal
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	And they never actually...
DD	Sustain evidence
Interviewer	Yes
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Did you find that?
DD	I found that a lot, every single time they were speaking about his past, there is always something suspect or suspicious about that or someone would mention something they would always have a connotation to it that would be sinister or you know, criminal, yeah I found that, I thought it was really cool
Interviewer	Were you able to see that?
DD	Yeah, the mystery about the guy, it was quite obvious...
Interviewer	How he made his money?
DD	Yeah and how he became The Great Gatsby
Interviewer	It didn't frustrate you, did it intrigue you?
DD	Yeah it made me interested, I wasn't really frustrated, I wanted to by the end of the book know, because they still didn't say but I would've, I preferred a mystery, but to know
Interviewer	What did you think of the novel?
DD	Umm, for the story itself, well him having the thing with Daisy a few years before, couple years before, umm, I thought it was, it was good, the author seemed really good to me, I really like his use of language and he was very expressive in the way he said things, you know and he described things with such detail, I found that really cool, I really enjoyed that, I really enjoyed the novel
Interviewer	What about the context, the American context in the 1920s, were you able to identify

	with that period, were you able to identify that personally?
DD	Well for me I do like the older stuff so it was easier for me to identify things and especially watch old movies and reading the old books, it's easier to start learning to identify these certain things, I mean before we even read To kill a Mockingbird last year I knew what the hollers were, you know when you holler?
Interviewer	Yeah
DD	And you know, you just know basic American, like I can't really think of the word
Interviewer	Diction or Umm...
DD	Yeah you know...
Interviewer	Like references?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	Yes
DD	Yeah, when they say certain things like I don't know when they use, when they quote something from the novel or something, like The Hollow Men, when they make references from many books, it's the same thing but for American terms
Interviewer	Wow, that's excellent, excellent and that's one of the things I'm interested in, is the fact that you can establish a background or a knowledge of the American society or the way they function or the context by watching movies or reading other books, but for somebody that doesn't read or hasn't read in that period or watched a movie would struggle
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Okay let's talk about school, umm, your language of instruction was always English?
DD	Well in pre-school it was Afrikaans but that doesn't count, I don't really remember those years, I don't remember being able to speak Afrikaans fluently
Interviewer	And now?
DD	Now I speak Afrikaans but not very well, but more English
Interviewer	But why an Afrikaans pre-school?
DD	I don't know, my parents thought it would be fun
Interviewer	Okay, I suppose you have different culture
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Okay, so Primary School?
DD	I went to Rietendale Primary School, so that's basic English, always constantly in English
Interviewer	Okay and then you came straight to...?
DD	No, I'm a year older, in grade 8, I went to Montessori College and that's also English but the system is so different, so different, but that didn't, it was only a year out of the normal school system so I could get back into the whole public system a whole lot easier
Interviewer	Umm, how do fin.... What would you say your confidence level, you're an English speaker, you're an English native speaker, would you say that you're confident in your language and your spoken/written...
DD	Yes, I would, umm, my essays I'm always quite proud of, I use big words, but I like try to impress the teachers, I'm very impressed of the English language
Interviewer	And Spoken?

DD	Umm, Spoken yes, I can speak very well, very fluently with people, I've been overseas as well
Interviewer	You've been overseas? Where did you go?
DD	Umm, in 2009 I went to England to visit my Mom's family, Scotland to visit my dad's, then we decided to tour Europe, we went to France, Switzerland, Austria, a bit of Germany and Italy
Interviewer	Wow, that's fantastic, and umm, in the home language class, you are with L2 speakers, L2 speakers are second language speakers, or various second and third language speakers, foreign speakers, how do you find them? Can you connect with them?
DD	Yeah, well umm, well if they have the basic understanding of English, it's quite easy to be able to speak to them, because in my opinion English is one of the hardest languages, if you can talk to someone who doesn't know English very well, then you can still get your point across and you can still interact, umm, few of my closest friends, their second language is English, so I think ya, you can communicate with them quite nicely
Interviewer	Do you people will perceive second language speakers in the English Home Language class?
DD	Umm, not all that different, they've just find them to be different, maybe a different culture, umm, but not too different, in Afrikaans and English it's not a huge gap, it's just certain things, small things you can be fine with the culture of English or Afrikaans for Example.
Interviewer	Okay, tell me about literature... what aspects of literature do you struggle with?
DD	Umm, sometimes with poetry a little bit, but I mostly have poetry down
Interviewer	Let's talk about novels
DD	Okay, umm, novels sometimes, obviously depending on the author, umm, can have different meanings, people can interpret it as something else, I mean it's your own interpretation, some people perceive it as differently as what the teachers want you to perceive it, so that causes... might... a lot of problems in terms of novels
Interviewer	Where do you think the teachers get their interpretation from?
DD	I always thought the internet but since they were taught by the universities, they kind of have to say certain things, they might... I know you might interpret something differently to what the books say it is, I mean I know some people, I know Mr. Phillips has in the past, in class he has sometimes perceived that differently to what the answers in the book say, but ya, he says just answer in the book because they are all right and that's what you want to get, especially in matric, always being right, not what you think is right
Interviewer	What do you think, okay, if you were writer and you wrote and I had to read it, how... what do I need to do to get into your head and understand what you were trying to say? What do I need?
DD	Just a basic background of where I am from so you can understand my language, where I'm from and you know just small, little things about me that could help my writing, you know that's pretty much it
Interviewer	That's an excellent answer, that is, so can you understand that there isn't actually... there are multiple interpretations of what the author is actually saying, there must be a method to get to what he's saying, What do you think you have to look at?

DD	Umm, sometimes in the text it's not as clear as it may seem, there might be a sentence that might seem that there is a second meaning to a thing, So if you just read the text clearly and interpret it a certain way, trust your instinct, okay it means this or it means that, you decide which one would be better between the two and especially which one will make more sense in terms of the text
Interviewer	What did you find with the Gatsby test?
DD	Umm
Interviewer	Which questions did you struggle with?
DD	Umm, sometimes the explaining of the quote, where they say give a quote and explain, you can find the quote but sometimes you have no words for it, it's there, what more can I say, I do understand though that you have to elaborate a lot more on the text or on the quote but I just don't sometimes, but yeah I mean, ya
Interviewer	What about deeper meanings, like they question on ambiguity, the question on ambiguity you didn't get in the text?
DD	I didn't know what that meant
Interviewer	Okay, things like that, on the surface something appear to be this but really...
DD	Isn't
Interviewer	Means something else, he is implying that meaning in context or it's implied meaning and innuendo, direct instruction to bring you to this in the text, there is so much said that they expect you to infer if you don't have referential knowledge then you won't be able to get it, like for example we look at Question 1.5 which is, discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's words, "Well I married him", which word did you look at, when it came to ambiguity which word did you look at? Let's look at that, Who is Myrtle married to?
DD	Wilson
Interviewer	Wilson, now let's go back, right she says well Mrs. McKey says, I almost married a little Kike...
DD	I don't know what a Kike is
Interviewer	A Jew, it's a racial insult for a Jew, "Who'd been after me for years, I knew he was below me, everybody said Lucille, that man's way below you, If I hadn't met Chester he'd have got me for sure", So who is Mrs. McKey married to?
DD	The man named Chester
Interviewer	Chester, right, then Myrtle says "at least you didn't marry him" she says "I know I didn't" Myrtle says: "I married him"
DD	Okay she married the Jew who she was going to marry if she hadn't met Chester
Interviewer	But is she married to the Jew?
DD	Yes
Interviewer	No, who is she married to? I asked you...
DD	Wilson?
Interviewer	Yes
DD	Okay
Interviewer	So here's the problem now, on the surface according to this line the "him" is ambiguous, because who's the "him"? We know she's married to Wilson, the "Him" refers to?
DD	Tom



Interviewer	The kike, the Jew
DD	But isn't Wilson the Jew?
Interviewer	No, no no, don't look at that, we are saying Wilson, because she is not married to a Jew, Wilson is not a Jew
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Remember we read the book, so we know Wilson is not a Jew
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Right, then they are talking about the Jew man here that Mrs. McKey was supposed to marry, she said "I made a lucky escape", now Myrtle says "Well I married him" but we know she's married to Mr. Wilson, who is not a Jew, once we establish that we have to look at the ambiguity of the word "him", So if she is not married to the Jew, but she is married to Wilson, What is implied?
DD	That she married somebody else before, maybe after, I don't know, but in terms of the text, it doesn't say that, it doesn't say Wilson is not a Jew
Interviewer	No, you have to work it out, you have to work it out because you know that Mr. Wilson, if he was a Jew, would not be Wilson, also remember references now, think about it
DD	Okay, yeah
Interviewer	Right, she says "I made an escape, I did not marry the Jew" Then Myrtle says: "I married him" now
DD	Okay, so she was married before, or is still married
Interviewer	No, we know she is married to Wilson, until she dies she is married to Wilson, so we have to look another, that's why it's ambiguity, if she was married before or Mr. Wilson was a Jew, she wouldn't have to speak ambiguously, do you get it? Because ambiguous means 2 different meanings, on the surface it looks a certain way but it is... there is another meaning to it, do you see what I'm saying? You know the term ambiguity and you have to look for a deeper meaning now, because she can't be married to the Jew because we know she's married to Wilson, so we know superficially it's not possible. So what do we have to do, we have to look at what is implied, by the word married to "Him", the word I'm married to "him" which is linked to the Jew which means I'm also married to someone else
DD	Mr. Wilson
Interviewer	Is like the Jew because...
DD	Is she insulting him?
Interviewer	Yes, remember she says "he's not fit to lick my boots"
DD	Oh yes
Interviewer	He's way below me,
DD	Okay
Interviewer	So we have to have that knowledge know, because it's in the text, that's why I asked you the question at the beginning about ambiguity, being disrespectful to her husband, then what was included? The fact that she said "He was not fit to lick my boots"?
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Already we've established that she thinks her husband is beneath her, is inferior, that is why I expected you to get the ambiguity there

DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Can you see? That if she's not married...
DD	So she's just, you know...
Interviewer	Yes, the implication, this is the implied meaning here now, the implication is although she's not physically married to him, she's married to someone like him, like the Jew who is inferior
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Do you get it?
DD	Yeah, now I do
Interviewer	But do you see now, a question like that would... because remember we can't ask you all the time questions like, Who's Myrtle married to? Or Who's this?
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Because she said there was the ambiguity, she said ambiguously, so you have to work why she is saying it ambiguously, people are saying on the superficial level Wilson was a Jew or she was married before, how would this be ambiguous?
DD	I suppose so, yeah
Interviewer	So you get it now?
DD	Now I do, yeah
Interviewer	But these are questions that you get in the text in your normal test
DD	So you basically have to analyse the text
Interviewer	You have to analyse like this, when you get a question like this, it's usually a 3 or 4 mark question; you've come across questions like this before?
DD	Yes I have
Interviewer	And then now you know, this is what gets you because if you don't understand the term ambiguity or what is expected because can you see now that if you don't look at it like this, and say superficially it's like this
DD	Okay, yeah
Interviewer	You understand?
DD	Yeah, okay, so if you understand it and why it's ambiguous, so you give them the underlined meaning
Interviewer	Yes
DD	Instead of the superficial
Interviewer	Instead of...
DD	The superficial meaning, okay
Interviewer	Because when you look at it superficially, for example I just showed you, when you look at Mr. Wilson is a Jew, Why would it be ambiguous? She is directly saying that she is married to the Jew., you understand? For her to be ambiguous, there must be something else involved, If you say look at native White Culture and English Culture, there is a lot of implications Sometimes
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	So this is main Crux of it, Would you be able to answer a question like this better now?
DD	Now I would
Interviewer	Ohh that's good that...
DD	I now know what ambiguity means, I think I'll be okay

Interviewer	Right, umm, then your next question was 1.6, which was identify and explain the figure of speech in Line 34, you said... What did you say?
DD	Personification
Interviewer	Personification, okay let's look at that
DD	What's the line?
Interviewer	She said "I lay down and cried to beat the band all afternoon"
DD	I don't know
Interviewer	Let's break it down
DD	"Beat the band" isn't that alliteration? No, I don't know
Interviewer	Right
DD	I guessed
Interviewer	What is your idea of a band playing
DD	A band, it would just be like musicians
Interviewer	Yeah
DD	Music
Interviewer	Yeah but loud, how loud?
DD	I suppose quite loud
Interviewer	Can you cry to beat the band?
DD	No
Interviewer	And all afternoon?
DD	No one can
Interviewer	So what is the figure of speech?
DD	Umm, I'm not sure, I don't know
Interviewer	Exaggeration?
DD	Ok an exaggeration but
Interviewer	Figure of speech?
DD	Can you say exaggeration?
Interviewer	No, figure of speech has a term for it. Hyperbole?
DD	Oh my word, I read that today
Interviewer	Does it make sense to you now?
DD	Yeah, but I just didn't think that classified as Figure of speech as well
Interviewer	The hyperbole?
DD	Ya, I just
Interviewer	What did you think it was?
DD	I had no idea, to be honest with you, I just was just like "Cool man"
Interviewer	You didn't know the figure of speech Hyperbole before?
DD	Well I've heard it and I learnt it, last year? We learnt it last year but long ago, IO forgot about it
Interviewer	Okay, but now you know? Hyperbole is exaggeration, think of this, the woman "Cried fit to beat the band all afternoon"
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Is it? Really? Of course she is trying to emphasise how bitter and upset and angry she was

DD	Yeah
Interviewer	So she's heightening the depth of her despair
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Or disappointment, that's why the figure of speech there would be hyperbole.
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Okay, I've had some interesting answers for that one, don't worry, we look at 2.1 and okay 2.1 is the...
DD	Bootlegger
Interviewer	The bootlegger yes, the bootlegger is someone, you know the 1920s was a prohibition period, alcohol, they were forbidden to drink it or to sell it, and that's where people made their money by selling illegal alcohol, making it, drinking it, etc. If we look at the question 2.2.1, is that the one we looking at?
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	Explain the irony in the words "he's a bootlegger", umm, firstly they are in Gatsby's garden, drinking his alcohol with his flowers, now...
DD	Okay, so is a bootlegger someone who sells illegal alcohol
Interviewer	illegal alcohol, yes
DD	Okay
Interviewer	Can you get the answer now?
DD	Now I can
Interviewer	Why is it ironic?
DD	They're walking in his garden with his booze, by his house, isn't that supposed to be the bad...
Interviewer	Do you think that's ironic? Do you think that's the irony?
DD	Yeah, they're saying he's bad but they're doing it in house, they're there
Interviewer	Doing what?
DD	Drinking alcohol
Interviewer	Which is?
DD	Illegal
Interviewer	Yes, now do you get it?
DD	Yeah, well now I do
Interviewer	Good
DD	I just didn't know what a bootlegger was, it just sounds awful
Interviewer	It does isn't it?
DD	It does
Interviewer	I had people telling me it was a man with one leg, people were laughing because he had an accident, don't worry, its fine. 2.5 umm, it's interesting that you got that one, I can see that you are able to get an answer close to it because you did say that he likes to be with inferential people but I want to explain something, umm, the policeman stopped Gatsby to give him a ticket, but when Gatsby pulled out something that he says, he says to Nick the card was a picture of the commissioner who he did some work for and the policeman let him off, what does that sound like to you?
DD	As if it's a criminal act

Interviewer	Yes
DD	Okay, so I should've mentioned that
Interviewer	Did you not look at it like that?
DD	I did but because he said he did him a favour, I assumed okay...
Interviewer	But think about it, if you do a favour for the commissioner and you allowed to get away with not paying a fine...
DD	Yeah, I suppose it would be illegal
Interviewer	And if you look at the policeman's reaction after he saw whatever Gatsby <i>excuse me</i> , Do you understand the Italics there
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	It puts emphasis on the <i>excuse me, not going to stop you again</i> , you got that, that he's not going to be stopped again, but even that is criminal isn't it?
DD	I suppose yeah, but even people in authority don't get stopped by the police because they know they're of authority, so that's how I saw it, was that he knows a lot of people being the upper class, they know people within authority like the commissioner, you know and I think somewhere in the book, it mentions him being with someone important, I don't know, I think it was the senator or something like that, something along those lines, umm and I thought okay being upper-class you know people, you know because illegally or legally...
Interviewer	Do you also know that Gatsby is a criminal? We know that he does wrong things
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	And then if a person who is already doing wrong things, does a favour for a policeman, if you just work it all together in your head and think, Well That's Corrupt
DD	Something's wrong
Interviewer	Yeah, that's corrupt
DD	Suppose I should've mentioned that
Interviewer	Ya, okay so what is it that you learnt from the analysis of your test? Because Umm,
DD	Well elaboration a lot more, when thinking something even though, don't know how to put this, okay just putting down all your thoughts basically that, you know like the last question that he is illegal or whatever he did was illegal for someone of authority is just stupid a bit in my opinion, but yeah, I suppose yeah
Interviewer	Do you think that, that very same question we're talking about that you used your very own knowledge there now and you tried to work out something rather than looking at the very act in the context that it is written
DD	Ma'am what's the question?
Interviewer	Do you think that you analyse that question base on other things rather than the context of the question
DD	I suppose, yeah I didn't think about Gatsby and what he is, I just thought about the act, he might have doing something, Gatsby we know is a criminal, we would logically supposed to get that you know, he did an illegal favour for him, that was just, I should've written that
Interviewer	But do you see how you lose marks because of that?
DD	Yeah
Interviewer	That you have to analyse and look what is happening here, a policeman has stopped

	Gatsby, to give him a ticket, Gatsby flashes something and the policeman waves him off, how did you know for example the next one, know you next time
DD	What do...
Interviewer	How did you know that was the answer?
DD	Oh, well you just won't see it because he just won't stop him
Interviewer	How did you know that know you next time, means "I won't stop you next time"? How did you know that?
DD	Just by the way that he said it, I don't know why, I'm not sure, I read the text and it just didn't seem like he was going to stop him again, what was the text?
Interviewer	He said Know you next time
DD	Just know you next time?
Interviewer	Ya
DD	Nothing else in it (incoherent)
Interviewer	Know you next time, Mr. Gatsby
DD	The Excuse me with the Exclamation mark is not really sarcastic but like you know like saying I won't do it again
Interviewer	Almost like in fear
DD	Ya, That's how I picked it up as
Interviewer	But you'll find most people won't get it, because can you see the italics in <i>me!</i> and the exclamation mark, how would you say that in this spoken discourse
DD	You know, like I don't know how you would physically say it but you know, sorry, it's just you know
Interviewer	So you know what it is and that's the thing because people find it difficult to actually verbalise their thought processes or whatever, but you just know it because you instinctively know it
DD	Yeah, I suppose from reading I just kind of pickup, you know especially because he just flashed something for like a second and the guys like, who, okay, I'm sorry, I wouldn't stop you again, well he wouldn't say that but, I'll know you next time, that just gives the kind of implication, and especially by flashing whatever it was and then the cop not giving him a ticket, you know, okay, the cop isn't going to stop him again, even if he sees him, he's not going to stop him, that's how I interpreted it
Interviewer	And umm, would you... Do you think that these inferential skills or the skills pick up implied meaning? Do you think it starts with a word, in other words, umm, if you didn't know what ambiguity means, do you think if knew ambiguity, you'd still be able to find the meaning?
DD	I think it would be easier to find the meaning and I'd be able to understand the question a lot more than answer something I didn't know what the question was
Interviewer	Have you experienced that before?
DD	Yeah, definitely, I can't think of an example now, but it has happened before, where they ask a question in such a way or using words you don't understand like, okay, that's cool, you know, don't know what it means but you know, try assume or break up the word if there's any kind of I don't know, smaller word for it that you can kind of understand, I didn't understand that one
Interviewer	Did you enjoy the session?
DD	Yeah, it was cool, I enjoyed the Great Gatsby, so I was quite relieved...
Interviewer	That it was the Gatsby?

DD	Yes, I just knew what I was doing
Interviewer	I thank you so much for being a part of this process and, umm, I appreciate it and I was able to get a lot from what you've said and , umm, Goodbye, have a nice weekend
DD	I will

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: EE**

Interviewer	Good afternoon
EE	Good afternoon ,Ma'am
Interviewer	How you doing?
EE	Fine and you?
Interviewer	Good. OK let's start by you telling me a little bit about your cultural background.
EE	Umm, the cultural background I come from consists mainly English and Afrikaans background. Umm not we do not do many of the customs umm except now and again we obviously drink wine and we don't really do anything else though Umm no in terms of cultural umm <i>ethnicity</i> we don't really we don't really do anything English or Afrikaans. We just umm we just live like a normal family in a modern way.
Interviewer	Would you consider yourself an English speaker?
EE	Yes
Interviewer	Why?
EE	I was brought up in an English household, my dad's Afrikaans and my mom's English but my mom preferred that I speak um English, my mom always speaks English. My dad speaks English but every now and then we get a little interchange into Afrikaans but normally it's just English.
Interviewer	So does your dad speak English to you?
EE	He speaks English to me every now and then ... Afrikaans but normally it's English.
Interviewer	And your Mum would speak English?
EE	My mom always speaks English
Interviewer	And your Friends?
EE	Me and Brendon sometimes speak Afrikaans to each other sometimes English umm me and Styllis umm speak Afrikaans to each other a lot and umm Yeah basically that.
Interviewer	Ok but you would say you native English speaking
EE	Native English speaking
Interviewer	Ah Tell me about... your childhood, exposure to children's literature, fairy tales, nursery rhymes and songs etc.
EE	Umm...
Interviewer	Did your parents read you stories?
EE	Umm my parents would always read me stories and they would always tell me stories (mutter) that's where I get my creativity from my dad always reading me stories and telling me stories and always like to continue and what is this thing ma'am...(mutter) No my parents always use to read. And umm tell me stories. I didn't really actually read much myself as a child but I was always interested in finding out new facts and finding out new ideas. I would always umm learn new things and actually go and find out about things but umm in terms of fairy tales my mom would and my dad always embraced fairy tales and always told me about fairies and pixies living in our garden and Santa clause and little elves and everything which is actually very nice and you know made my childhood very fun



	and let and let my mind wonder and become extremely creative in making an imaginary world for myself as I was younger and umm as I've grown I've started to read more I use to my very first book I actually read was Harry Potter because my dad bet me I couldn't read it so I eventually read and then I liked it so I continued reading it . I finished all of them in about a month I then went on to Spud. I finished Spud and right now I also reading the book Shanti Ram and I started to move on to more umm heavy novels in stronger stronger writers.
Interviewer	What inspired you to read Shanti Ram?
EE	Umm due to the fact that umm I read Q and A which I find extremely interesting which was also about India and was by an Indian writer and umm a lot of the people who either write about India or ahh(clear throat)Indian writers are always... I've always read their books and they've always been fantastic and the fact that Santi Ram itself was a true story based on a man who had just escaped prison in Australia who moved to Bombay in India just sounds so enticing so I decided to read it so ja...
Interviewer	Did you finish it?
EE	I'm busy with it at the moment that umm also I like the way he writes because umm he doesn't just use one tone he's got a comedic sense to it The same as Stephen King even though he writes horror he has a very good sense of comedy to him. It's very clever. So I like the I like the clever writing styles.
Interviewer	Let's start from your preschool, you said Afrikaans?
EE	Ja
Interviewer	What happened to you in the Afrikaans primary school?
EE	Then We went to primary umm the it was an Afrikaans Primary school first then umm I moved to a English....
Interviewer	What happened to you in the Afrikaans primary school?
EE	Oh nothing much I actually really enjoy it I had lots of friends and everything but due to my sport umm Tuks sports school invited me to come and do there do my education because it offer me a good no enticing offer for my sport umm in a higher level of sport training you know in occasion of more training as well so I do better competitions and so on so I took the offer and umm it was in school and I went there and I was taught there English but I hated it . I hated that school because not due to the education or the teachers just hated the kids.
Interviewer	So hate the children there
EE	hated the children
Interviewer	Why?
EE	Egotistical self-righteous #*(laughs) I know you can't use that but(laughs again) they really were(laughs again) Umm(mutters) they constantly felt that they it was their right to be there instead of a privilege.(Interviewer- Mmm) and because I was there and because I couldn't afford the newest things or buy the coolest things and the fact that I in fact wasn't very thin myself they thought it was very funny and pick on me. So I hated the place and I left.
Interviewer	You left there after how many years?
EE	I left there after 4 years.
Interviewer	So you had 4 years of tuition there?
EE	Yes 4 years of torture.

Interviewer	And in English?
EE	Yes
Interviewer	Ok and you went to
EE	I came straight to (the school) and I loved it
Interviewer	You could have continued there.
EE	I could have continued there indeed.
Interviewer	So you chose to come here?
EE	I chose to come here
Interviewer	And what did you find different when you came here
EE	I found different the entire situation about everybody. Everybody's situation here varies some people are rich, some people are poor , moderate middle standard some people are poor some people are happy and there was a huge variety of people so I could get along pretty well with anybody. And it and it was really nice because I I met a lot of people made a lot of friends and no one judges you based on you financial areas well let's say financial level and its great it's fantastic and I like everything about it. I love the teachers . I love the school. I love everything about it.
Interviewer	Ahh. How would you compare the structure and the tuition you got at that school to (the school)
EE	I think (the school) is a much better entire standard school
Interviewer	Why?
EE	Back in Tuks sports school they use to say we are getting the same education as everybody else and I actually did extremely well in terms of grades there but I never found anything very challenging and the I actually came to (the school) and as soon as I got here umm Math , Physics , English, Afrikaans the the level everything changed and it was actually a lot harder was a lot harder it took a large amount of time to get use to because I did work hard but never worked this hard.
Interviewer	Umm how would you rate your competency in English?
EE	Out of a scale of 1 to 10?
Interviewer	Hmm
EE	I would say about 8/7
Interviewer	8 early 7
EE	8 or 7 Like between 7 and 8
Interviewer	Ok
EE	Ja
Interviewer	In all the areas or...
EE	Not all the areas. In terms of creativity. I'd say I'd give it the full mark but um for in terms of actual grammar not so good. It's just that the actually the one area I get wrong is grammar and spelling but for the rest its fine
Interviewer	Literature?
EE	Literature I love it I I enjoy it and I can do it. And I understand it. (I'm a huge fan
Interviewer	You have no trouble interpreting
EE	No I even if I do have a problem I can sit down and figure it out.
Interviewer	But the grammatical structure of your writing in your sentences are fine (
EE	Ja I don't have a problem with that

Interviewer	Ok, Umm do you think ok at home do your mom or your dad use indirect methods to instruct you.
EE	Hmm
Interviewer	Do they use sarcasm or irony or indirect means of instruction?
EE	Oh ja my dad is famous for doing that
Interviewer	Give me an example
EE	The way he thinks his funny, He tells him to do something in a sarcastic manner and he thinks I won't do it but I actually do end up do it. Like let's say if umm Oh you know don't help us with the dishes and I eventually know I have to get up and help with the dishes now don't I and then also my mom or my dad actually is a emotional my dad actually uses emotional black mail when he said umm no its fine don't do it and then I end up doing it all because I just feel guilty because shouting at me doesn't work but we you tell me like that I do it (Laughs) or I'm just pointing a new method but he never does it
Interviewer	The reason I'm asking that because it means verbally you are used to the indirect method (Phillip- Ja)you see I'm trying to establish how you as an English home language speaker have a better or will have an advantage over the second language speaker because, because they don't get exposed to that so if you get exposed to it from a young age it becomes part of your <i>repertoire</i> because it's part of your language behaviour so that is why I am asking you.so are they always direct ?
EE	Ja, So most of the time they are but every now and again my dad can be indirect
Interviewer	So have they used it for humour?
EE	Yes, A lot of the time
Interviewer	And sometimes to instruct you as well
EE	Sometimes to instruct me as well
Interviewer	So you...
EE	Sometimes me and my dad its actually basically me and my mom have much more of the direct approach
Interviewer	So she is completely direct with
EE	Not all the time but umm mostly its direct
Interviewer	Ok umm so with your friends you use puns and verbal puns, irony ,sarcasm
EE	Umm between me and Brendon there's a lot but between me and Oli its more of a direct sort of a speech. I'm the same with Ronsam but me and Brendon have like we prefer to be indirect and be sarcastic and use verbal irony and irony itself to joke around with.
Interviewer	Is it just with him or do you do it
EE	No I do it with everyone now and again but a mostly it happens with Brendon
Interviewer	I think it's more competition
EE	But also Actually now that I think about it umm Oliver as well because umm he also he does verbal irony and indirect a lot umm he'll use every now and again in class a lot so actually with Oliver no no so actually it is with Oliver and Brendon we have the indirect
Interviewer	So do you think that it's that it helps you
EE	Yes definitely
Interviewer	in literature

EE	Because it's easier for me it has help me to be able to interpret literature as well not as always direct but I can always see the I can always see the see the other side of it I can look behind what's just in front just you see what's in front and interpret what's behind it.
Interviewer	The fact that your Mum's an English teacher. How has that influenced your English?
EE	Umm, In terms that's she knows what they asking and what they want out of umm tests and what they need from me it's actually been very helpful because she always was able to identify but now she can even she can do even better now umm she can closely identify closely relate to what's being asked and then she can inform me and help teach me tell me exactly know what is the most important parts to learn the most important parts to do.
Interviewer	Umm... Can you see a difference between the different English speakers in this school
EE	Ja
Interviewer	What difference do you see?
EE	I can see a difference in terms of umm the use of language in terms of like a first know if you've been taught English from a young age and your English is a second language like between Afrikaans people and the English kids between the Sepedi and the English and there's a large difference in terms of umm the mixture of languages that comes into it.
Interviewer	You do Afrikaans as a first additional language
EE	Ja
Interviewer	And how you doing there
EE	Ah fine I just 70's and 80's so that's because umm like I said in primary school for Afrikaans umm as well as in a umm Kindergarten my Afrikaans I knew I knew all of it so I knew a lot of the basics and I knew a lot of the things that was needed for me to know to do umm what in Afrikaans in those schools because also they were first speaking their first language speaking school so I had to learn obviously everything in Afrikaans were as English was the second language which is obviously different now . So I learnt a lot of the Afrikaans over there basically the lower language Afrikaans or the additional language Afrikaans was like in primary school so its fine
Interviewer	So you doing well in Afrikaans as well
EE	Ja
Interviewer	But I just want to establish the first language English and second language Afrikaans status Umm if you had a choice would you want to do home language Afrikaans
EE	Nah
Interviewer	Why not?
EE	Because I struggle
Interviewer	You would struggle
EE	I would struggle not that I have any against Afrikaans language I like the Afrikaans language its fun but umm I would really struggle relearn everything in umm Afrikaans especially mathematics and physics and biology it would be a huge problem the language itself to speak is fine you have to relearn everything from

	math, physics, biology into Afrikaans to translate everything would be immensely hard do.
Interviewer	Umm how do you and other people like you in the English class behave? how do English speakers, first language speakers view second and third language and foreign language speakers?
EE	Well I don't view them as indifferently I just think to myself to go and try and speak Chinese well if I had to speak mandarin or if I had to translate or try and speak Hindi I would I can't do it I can't even do it and here are people who are doing this second language who don't even speak this language at home who speak
Interviewer	Are there other people who are English speakers who don't see it as you do?
EE	I'm pretty sure there are people because I'm sure as always is there are a few people who discriminate against people who can't speak Afrikaans.
Interviewer	So it is weighing on a more racial level
EE	Have you experienced that?
Interviewer	Yes, Yes I have. I've experienced a lot of the English kids saying they hate Afrikaans people for no reason. I've experienced Afrikaans kids that hate English kids saying they the English people for no reason. What they say is that the hate black people and black people saying they hate White people for no reason
EE	No it's it's depending on the where we taking it from if it's between English and Afrikaans it's just language it's just language. I don't see it as being indifferent so it doesn't matter to me but a lot of the time I've heard of umm some say umm he's an idiot like I've heard in fact that umm as an example Lorinda says the people that speak Afrikaans are stupid and I never understood why she would say that because she says no their language is simple they have two words for one word and it's just something that developed from their culture no one decided to it was just born that way. It doesn't really matter to me
Interviewer	Ok let's look at your test. How did you know that Kike referred to Jews ?
EE	Because one of my parents watched a lot of movies and we watched a lot of umm artistic films in one of the films consisted of a man and using the word Kike and actually asked what the word kike means and she actually said no no its a slur on Jews and that's where I actually knew where it came from because you know a lot of things I learn from films and stuff actually stick with me because a lot of times she asked how did you know how to pull off the Heimlich manoeuvre from cartoon network . How did know this word meant from south park its all the different references from television , literature , books, stories that stick with me.
Interviewer	Have you watched old movies and listened to old music
EE	Ja, a lot most of the time
Interviewer	Give me examples
EE	Old movies in terms of umm Grease, umm Pulp fiction, Reservoir Dogs , umm Dirty Dancing ,all the old movies oh ja and back to the future and old music in terms of Rolling stones the Beatles , Bon Jovi , Meatloaf umm Boston, Nirvana you know all the old music as well but I also like listen to the new music like a DRUGS and umm Asking Alexandria umm new bands as well. I try to integrate between old and new but ja I suppose in terms of umm my tastes would vary from a lot of people in the modern days taste the modern music that I like is very off

	putting for other people were as I like heavy metal everybody else would far more prefer listen to umm something faster, softer or more hip-hop-ish 17.43
Interviewer	Ah Old movies... have you not watched anything older than that?
EE	Umm you mean as in black and white?()
Interviewer	Yes
EE	I saw ah I think it was 'Cat in a Hot Tin Roof' when I was younger I also watched I actually saw one or two but I didn't those sort of old movies I never really...
Interviewer	The one who flew over the cuckoo's nest
EE	I saw that, those those ja those ones I actually did, I thought you meant black and white as in just starting to make movies
Interviewer	No no
EE	No no those old movies I watched my cousin Vinny and everything like that I watched, I watched all of them.
Interviewer	And umm
EE	My parents are the ones that educated me in the older films as well as the new films
Interviewer	Books? What about books? What's the oldest book you've read? When I say oldest I mean period or setting wise?
EE	Umm oh not as you mean when it was written but when it was based in.
Interviewer	Hmm
EE	Umm that would be Umm... Ah It was based on the war between the French and the English umm...ah...what was it called again... I can't remember?
Interviewer	Prince the tenice women
EE	No no no it was the umm. The actually war between the English and the French and umm based on... As in court... (laughs)
Interviewer	As in caught
EE	Yeah or it might be called As in court depending on whose pronouncing it not really sure
Interviewer	And Um As in caught. Who you have picked up a lot of French and English references from there
EE	Yeah I could identify a lot of the like umm terminologies in terms of how the French would umm mock the English and how the English would mock the French and how throughout all of it the still hated the Dutch even though the Dutch were trying to help the English . How they would still mock them for being Dutch. The writer himself you could tell would be a bit bias because he would make the Dutch seem stupider than the English. By one instance having the Dutch try to fire a new weapon that would kill all of them.
Interviewer	1.5 Every single child got wrong. That's why I'm going into detail about how you arrived at an answer like this. 1.5 The question asked Discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's words "Well I married him" Umm can you tell me what ambiguous means?
EE	Ambiguous means not umm it's not direct its actual indication of an answer or question. It's almost open for interpretation
Interviewer	Well...
EE	(Laughs) I know what ambiguous means (Interviewer – Laughs) I just don't know how to say it(Laughs)

Interviewer	When something's ambiguous let's look at sometimes ambiguity is caused by the use of pronouns, in other words it speaking about him and her and him and her eventually you can't really tell which pronouns used is not encourage in writing you link the him and her to the wrong speaker now in this case it sometimes the author would use it purposely so that you would not you would actually try and figure out "well him no that makes no sense" (Phillip –Hmm) perhaps they use it as a technique and that wherein they want to tell you they what to imply something else so on the surface it might not even make sense because maybe the him is linked to the wrong person but the implied meaning is what the writer wants you to find out. Ok let's look at this carefully. Where's the text? (Searching through papers) Right let's look at 1.5 the last paragraph was it their what paragraph. I almost Ok Mrs Mckey says, "I almost married the little kike whose been after me for years, I knew he was below me" ok so know we know that Jews are not regarded as
EE	Worthy
Interviewer	worthy. Everybody kept saying to me, "Lucille that man's way below you" Right
EE	Mmmmm
Interviewer	Then she says " but If I hadn't met Chester he would have got me for sure"
EE	Hmm
Interviewer	so Lucille whose Mrs Mckey met Chester and she married him and so Myrtle Wilson who is she married to?
EE	Myrtle is married to wait... Where is it on this page?
Interviewer	Myrtle Wilson. Who is she married to?
EE	Wait...I'm on the wrong page here?
Interviewer	Oh now let's see. You were on the wrong page now. There you are
EE	I had the wrong page. That's why I was struggling
Interviewer	Ok let's see if you struggle now
EE	I was trying to find out when you were reading. I just agreed
Interviewer	You mustn't agree you must find the page.
EE	She's married to Chester
Interviewer	Lucille?
EE	Mmmmm
Interviewer	Then who is the person she got away from?
EE	She got away from the the Jew
Interviewer	And then she goes on to say Myrtle says Mrs. Wilson says "She didn't marry him"
EE	Meaning that she married him
Interviewer	the she says " I know I didn't" Who is speaking?
EE	Lucille is speaking
Interviewer	Lucille then Myrtle says "Well I married him"
EE	Myrtle then married the Jew
Interviewer	Myrtle married to the Jew, now this is where the ambiguity comes in because of the use of language it appears that Myrtle is married to the Jew but we know she is married to Mr. Wilson
EE	Huh. If I probably read... It was my fault
Interviewer	The whole idea that's being tested is not about what tested is you comprehension



	skills
EE	Ja I see what you mean
Interviewer	So you fail to link
EE	Those 2 together
Interviewer	Remember when something is this is where the answer is its nowhere else this is where the answer is. You must be able to pick out that the word ambiguous is the word him
EE	Ahh
Interviewer	And then you must be able to see because if you look from the beginning they speak about a Mr. Wilson and how Mrs. Wilson treats him to tell us Ok she doesn't think he is undeserving then Mrs. Wilson says " Mr. Wilson is not fit to like her shoes" Then he says umm then she has an affair with Tom. So all of this is building up to the fact that she doesn't respect her husband and she thinks he's undeserving. If a women says "He is not fit to like my shoes" what does it mean?
EE	He is not worth it or deserving of her
Interviewer	Right the author builds in that by now also linking Mr. Wilson to being like Kike in what respect?
EE	In the respect that umm...in the respect that umm he uses a derogatory term almost to show how below her he actually is.
Interviewer	No we not looking at that now we look at by saying that she is married to Jew who we know she's not married to she's actually married to Mr. Wilson is an implication that we need to find
EE	The implication that she have rather married the Jew instead of him. That at least she didn't marry the Jew
Interviewer	I gave you clues... (EE Sighs) She is not physically married to the Jew but she's married to someone like the Jew of lower class
EE	Ooooh, I see, I see
Interviewer	Now that is usually a 3 or 4 mark question in the test and the exams
EE	So basically she's not, she's comparing her husband to the Jew(Interviewer –Yes) In terms that he's below her. So we can see that the judge the Jew as inferior by already using the word kike.
Interviewer	Kike, Also she said
EE	you not fit to lick my boots
Interviewer	also by saying that he is below me and then the racial term Kike means someone whose racially inferior and things like that. So we infer infer
EE	Ohh I see
Interviewer	Implied meaning
EE	It's a difficult question , I see what you mean now You explain to me and I feel kind of stupid to have seen that.
Interviewer	No no no it's the question that requires remember you can be good in English you can be good at certain things but there are certain types of questions that you need to work on, you can't think you can't assume because you are a English speaker you will be able to
EE	Know everything
Interviewer	know everything or be able to understand all implied and indirect meaning but you need to also look beyond the text. ok what have you learned here now the things



	you've learnt ?
EE	To read behind the text to try and associate to try and associate some of the words and certain people and certain sentences and other ones
Interviewer	And to follow the conversation
EE	and to follow the conversation as well
Interviewer	Did you see the conversation?
EE	Ja I see that the writer did this almost on purpose to make sure that you
Interviewer	Yes
EE	follow in the conversation to see that oh if you get lost you'll have to go read back agh go back again a read again to understand it. Almost a way to imprint it in your mind
Interviewer	It's like a normal conversation because verbal discourse is replicated in that text so if you're not following what would you do?
EE	You'd have to go back
Interviewer	to go back. So in the same way if you're not following
EE	It's clever
Interviewer	the conversation you need to follow the conversation
EE	And if you don't follow(Interviewer –Yes, because there is a dialogue going on here Ja not like a normal written
Interviewer	Yes so you missed the dialogue actually or the...
EE	you actually have to follow
Interviewer	all the way to the top
EE	I will admit that was one of the parts I struggled with because I was actually had to reread and reread and reread because I had to I kept getting lost in the conversation between the him and the hers as well when he was actually talking to the Gatsby
Interviewer	That's why I asked the question
EE	And I saw the ambiguity there
Interviewer	also in the passage when the young man's talking to Gatsby
EE	Yes
EE	So I find it difficult sometimes to follow if he was talking to Gatsby or about Gatsby sometimes because
Interviewer	remember he's the narrator
EE	ja it would change so quickly and it was basically the more dialogue he had with himself but then again he would try once again to try and follow the conversation as it goes along
Interviewer	Ja So that's a big tip
EE	ja it was difficult
Interviewer	you must be able to ah because the narrator plays such a big part of the story sometimes he takes to Gatsby and sometimes he talks to us about Gatsby
EE	or something else
Interviewer	or something else. He's constantly interacting and that is why the method that I am now researching is called the commutative method(EE – Hmm) before used to be or teachers always taught the text and said ok there's the answers or fix the answer or find the answer so the area of research I'm going into is the commutative approach and I've shown you

EE	It's actually helped a lot
Interviewer	It does doesn't it
EE	It makes is so that the next time I look at text for a test or anything else I'll follow the conversation or I'll try and understand where it's coming from I'll know his speaking in a dialect manner so this is just a normal conversation going on between two people to actually try and find...
Interviewer	What is the usual approach that you've been taught to approach English literature?
EE	The usual approach is basically read it as if he was talking to you
Interviewer	Tell me about your...
EE	A lot of the times he doesn't umm when they have a conversation or when the say something
Interviewer	No no Let's talk about how you were instructed to interpret it up to this point
EE	Basically read behind the lines sometimes do not always
Interviewer	In what way?
EE	Not to just take it as it is to actually try and see you know just because its written in this manner because a lot of the times I would write I'd listen to my grandmother's poetry I've been taught poetry since from a very young age
Interviewer	I'm speaking about in the school context in a classroom
EE	Ok(Interviewer- How did your teacher teach you access)Just read it
Interviewer	Just Read it
EE	Just read it except for obviously you now Ma'am. It's just been read it.
Interviewer	Read the text (EE-Ja) I need to know to be able to look at the logical questions
EE	But a lot of the time in every single educational classroom I've been in its never been read behind the lines or anything like that which has been read it and explain it to you it's never been there's never actually been a thing that's actually trying of find out for yourself or try and read behind what is in front of you
Interviewer	So you never ever got a chance to engage with the text
EE	No it's only been because of my parents and because of my home my home itself that I've been taught to read behind the lines to know what just take everything as it is because my parents and me
Interviewer	What are some of the things you got taught in the English in (the school)
EE	Umm...basically grammar that's it the literature and everything else comes from my home but the only thing I've been taught really is...
Interviewer	Remember you've been taught literature
EE	Yes I've been taught literature
Interviewer	But I want to look at what approach was taught to you
EE	The direct approach just read just been telling just been told to read and answer the questions
Interviewer	And the teachers that taught you were they L1 teachers or L2 teachers as in home language teachers or 2 <sup>nd</sup> language teachers
EE	Umm in this school ma'am ?(Interviewer – Yes) Ah I think all of them were L1 teachers
Interviewer	As in native language
EE	Yes as in native language
Interviewer	Really?

EE	I wasn't here in grade 8 or 9. I was only here from grade 10,11 and 12
Interviewer	Ah oh yes from grade 10, Ok, If we look at 2.2.1 you got that one wrong. Right. Umm. Did you understand the term Bootlegger?
EE	Bootlegger if I'm not mistaken is somebody who make who makes things but he doesn't make it first-hand it's like almost like a backroom sort of a project
Interviewer	Ok so something illegal
EE	Yeah, anything involving alcohol
Interviewer	Mmm
EE	Because I could remember during like in a lot of the films they say he was a bootlegger and I would always see him busy with alcohol.
Interviewer	You got that from the film? Umm why did you get that answer wrong
EE	Which did I answered(mutter answer)What was the question
Interviewer	Discuss the irony , explain the irony
EE	Ahhh, I didn't do that, I just said what a bootlegger was in terms I never discussed the irony
Interviewer	Why?
EE	I see I must have obviously read over the question too quickly and didn't write in the answer with thinking what is the answer I just wrote down because when I look at it know it's still hard to do but if I spent more time I could have described the bootlegger was and then I would have taken the irony try and figure out the irony between the question of explain the irony of the word bootlegger cocks flowers I can maybe understand the concept the cocktail party which has to do with liquor which is where the bootleggers part in this but the flower bottom I wasn't so sure
Interviewer	I look at the test now I'm going to look at where you lost marks because 1.2 you got one mark that's because you don't elaborate. It's amazing that in your writing elaboration is not on par with you verbal elaboration (ha ha)
EE	Hmm it's because I don't know may be I was rushing a bit more trying to I can elaborate I can elaborate for too much and I can elaborate too long and then the thing is I try and teach myself to try and get more to the point instead of trying to write entire paragraphs but I guess I'm still learning to do that because I would always write a paragraph for an answer which wouldn't need a paragraph and then I'd actually lose marks because people would look at this and say it's an entire paragraph for two marks there 's no point to this , I try and teach myself to write less and get to the point more often or faster so I guess I didn't elaborate enough I should have elaborated more in that one but I just trying to dumb it down shorten it a little bit
Interviewer	Okay by not answering the second part
EE	Yes, I see
Interviewer	(laughs)
EE	I would shorten my answers by not answering so...(laughs)
Interviewer	Please don't do that in your matric exam. 1.3 You had to explain the simile oh well identify the figure of speech and explain. Again all you did was...
EE	I struggle with figures of speeches
Interviewer	In what way?
EE	Sometimes I am like I say with grammar

Interviewer	It's not grammar its figures of speech
EE	I never really learnt what the figure of speech were or the different types
Interviewer	You have parts of speech for grammar and you have figures of speech for literature
EE	Ok well I never really I don't know really been
Interviewer	One is a literary convention and one is grammatical
EE	Ok...I've that's one of the things I struggle with I don't struggle to much if you say umm if you give be the word like irony or metaphor but sometimes trying to identify or explain it is a little bit more hard because I know what I would like to say I'm not sure if it's the correct thing to say I maybe really mainly on metaphor
Interviewer	I think that if you look at it in context you'll know what to do if you know the text you will associate better
EE	Ja
Interviewer	so the tip would be look in context right that is the only way to have a better answer. How is a word used and why is it used and in what particular context. Like in this case the sky reflecting on the cart, so what image comes up immediately
EE	The sun...
Interviewer	The sea in the glass, so replicating the sea,
EE	oh ja I get it now
Interviewer	I find 1.6 a bit amusing because you say exaggeration but you couldn't fine the term because exaggeration is not a part of speech
EE	I know
Interviewer	You just wrote exaggeration because...
EE	I just throw some word out there because...
Interviewer	The first step is to actually know so you can identify because that's half the marks already so if you tell me you struggle with figures of speech, explaining it?
EE	that is what I was going to say I struggle to explain it, like if you told me to say what is a metaphor or what is irony it would take me some time but if I sat down I could probably write down the explanation for why and what it is but identify it is not always easy for me I struggle to identify it because I don't always know what the words are and words I'm supposed to use umm I want to say irony but I'm not sure if its ironic but if you asked me to explain what's irony I could and then I can identify it but then sometimes I struggle to identify it and also depends on the day if I'm tired or not sometimes it works sometimes it doesn't work with metaphors and stuff like that it's much easier that's why I like poetry so much is because I can understand it but like literature sometimes when the say words irony in this word or what is exaggerate sometimes I'm a bit taking back on it
Interviewer	Now you're going to learn to do the linking
EE	Yeah
Interviewer	Right so what did you learn today? You're a native English speaker you've had such exposure to English. What did you learn today
EE	Um actually I learnt about the whole part about the dialogue in terms of trying link it together and trying to also with the wording trying to link certain parts together because umm I haven't actually expose myself enough to the dialogue which is used in the great Gatsby and it always actually and one of the things whenever I have read a book and that happens a lot of the time I'm actually lost and I've learnt that I have to try and find some way to improve myself because a lot of the times I

	have been lost in many books and that happens
Interviewer	Tell me about Animal Farm, how did you cope with animal farm?
EE	I don't know animal form for me I don't know for me it was like a very interesting book because I understood immediately what they were trying to infer and what they meant so basically for the rest it was basically repeating what I knew what was going to happens not knew what was going to happen but I knew what they were trying to imply and what was going to happens with the leadership because I knew the history behind the book and I knew what history they were talking about and it's also because I like to take things from two directions and two perspectives because it was only take from one perspective the entire time hating communism and hating the entire ideal of it behind the story behind the history of it. I didn't like it because it was one voice the whole time and it was monotonous it didn't nothing was diverse nothing was different the only thing that was different was the use of animals as a metaphor for the political figures in the communism era which I understood immediately and didn't really change much for the rest it was just telling a little story with one voice the entire time. I didn't find it to be incredible. I've read q and a which in my opinion was ten times better which is not even close to as a recognized
Interviewer	Don't you find western text more intriguing?
EE	I do I've read a lot of the Western books and I find them fantastic but it's just some books like you know it's been so over hyped for me like any ones animal farm and it so incredible and it's so well put and it so well structured and then I go and read the book and myself expecting it to be wowed and then basically it's just one man's ranting on about communism and I just thought ok
Interviewer	I think it was so clever using the animals...
EE	I thought that was brilliant that was a very cleaver spark of genius but for the rest it basically goes one way from there once you've identified it's the animals that are the political figures that's where it ends for me
Interviewer	Thanks EE and good luck for the exams
EE	Thanks maam

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: FF**

Interviewer	Good morning
FF	Good morning ma'am
Interviewer	How are you?
FF	Fine thank you
Interviewer	Good, can you tell me a little about your cultural background?
FF	(To self) Cultural background. (To Interviewer) Well, I'm from Ghana west Africa. Um... I speak Tri, Ga... um... and Gwa. That's where my people...that's where I really come from. Tri is what we...um had to learn because of where we lived. And Ga is also um what we had to speak when we lived there, so Tri um... Tri and Ga is just something that I had to learn like with English so [long pause] everything was [pause] everything was... when I was with my grandparents and my parents were working I had to speak Gwa cause they did not really understand English during that time but mine's much better so... I think [long pause]
Interviewer	What language do you speak now?
FF	I sp...Eng ... English is what I speak now
Interviewer	And to your parents?
FF	To my parents we have to speak English
Interviewer	And to your grandparents?
FF	To my grandparents I speak Gwa
Interviewer	To your friends?
FF	My friends in Ghana I speak Tri and like Ga or like Gwa
Interviewer	And here?
FF	Here I speak mmm English
Interviewer	All the time?
FF	English all the time, except when I go to Sunny side then I have to speak Tri
Interviewer	To whom?
FF	Um
Interviewer	Ghanaians there?
FF	Yes
Interviewer	Okay good. Right, ummm and at church?
FF	At church it depends where I Guan when we go to joined service we have to speak um English but later after the service we speak um Tri but we have a Tri service that sometimes I do go to it so they just speak Tri.
Interviewer	So you have a special service where you can speak and pray in your own language
FF	Yes
Interviewer	Oh great. (Audible inhale) Right, do you ever communicate in English outside the class all the time?
FF	Yes
Interviewer	And to what extent?
FF	Yes I do because...Well if I was in to be in Ghana I wouldn't have but in South Africa I do because my friends do not really understand my language.
Interviewer	Oh so Ghana you would have spoken [Thoughtful pause] [FF: 'Tri'] but because

	you in South Africa and nobody understands you you have to speak English [FF: yes] Oh okay great. Right, let's quickly talk about the foundation of your English language competence, in other words, on what foundation is it built on. How did it start and things like that. Um did your parents teach you may be read fairy tales to you or read s...children's literature growing up...[FF: No]. in English
FF	No that they didn't
Interviewer	Nothing, in your language?
FF	In my language not really
Interviewer	Not really so you didn't...
FF	They both worked during that time so... mm
Interviewer	So you...did you read any?
FF	No my grandparents used to tell us stories...yeah, but not um... like read from... they knew it off head.
Interviewer	But would it be oral stories [FF: yes] so from your culture [FF: yes] but not English [FF: no], Okay. So what was the first time... When was the first time you picked up an English book to read? What grade were you in?
FF	Well my aunty was a teacher during that time so she was the one who helped with the English and everything cause my dad insisted. He said...
Interviewer	When...wha... What age was the first time you were introduced to an English reading book?
FF	I wouldn't be able to remember I wa... I think, cause I started to speak when I was one and I spoke my language for a while before I started to speak English so I'd say maybe three four? I think but am not really sure.
Interviewer	Was it an English reading book reading book?
FF	No I...no
Interviewer	I'm speaking about English books... reading books
FF	I was about to go to school which was five
Interviewer	So what type of book was it?
FF	Um it was like you know little riding.... hood [Interviewer: Oh okay...s...okay] with the wolf and things
Interviewer	And when you read that book did it make sense to you?
FF	Yes ,I did not really get woody then aunty had to explain what it really meant then I was like "Oh"
Interviewer	What did you think when you first read little red riding hood?
FF	(Voice rises) How could a wolf just get off and start eating a little [Interviewer laughs] like that did not make sense, [Interviewer: didn't make sense to you?] No it did not. So I was like...how can a wolf and a human interact? So I was kinda confused but later when she was like "no it's just like a fiction" then I... "or non-fiction" am like ooh I never knew there was such a thing as fiction and non-fiction so I was really glad I learnt that that day
Interviewer	[Mild laughter] That's funny Alright okay, so um...then it was... um... in primary school whe...um when you went to primary school...of cause you must have been introduced to English [FF: yes] and stories [FF: yes] alright Tell me... what aspects of native language, culture native culture do you know [FF: mm] English as home language those speakers, do you know about their culture, their habits, their social behaviour, [pause] wha...what do you know about? [FF start to speak]



	Their culture, their behaviour, their...their social conventions, the way they interact...
FF	I woul...not really now about that because we weren't really taught about it like we were just taught to speak in English and then ab... English but not really what they do and things so it's just more about the language not what is happening there or something (voice fading) so like I wouldn't say about it
Interviewer	So you don't know about um...maybe the polite way to behave [FF: no] or maybe how they behave amongst each other or...(interrupted)
FF	No it was more... about my culture and how we(emphasis on word) are supposed to behave [Interviewer: uh okay] so it was more...I was taught how to behave with my cul...how my culture people are supposed to behave not the English cause they said it wasn't cause cetin things they would do we wouldn't do, so I was rather taught how to... be...a Ghanaian or maybe a Gwa or something not really a (fades way)
Interviewer	Okay, but when you read literature... are there all the social behaviours that you expected to know [FF: mm] or traditions or conventions or you know...um... things that come through that are so English that are related to their culture, it comes through their text, how are you able to access that information if you know nothing about them
FF	Well we were... we were rather taught in school like maybe um they want us to know [pause] maybe... maybe something's happening in England that because we always use the English...um... England's English. So maybe they'll tell us beforehand what is happening. But we would never really went to research what is going to happen, we were never interested in knowing what was happening because we were [gibberish]
Interviewer	Okay but am talking about stories that had been written a long time ago [FF: uh uh] that we study now
FF	No, we never did such things. It was more... It...the textbook were Ghanaian textbooks it wasn't like Othello and things we never did that.
Interviewer	Okay but if we take um for example...Ummm, if we take a novel like Gatsby now this is American [FF: mm] so then there are certain social behaviour that's in the text[FF: mm hmm], how would you identify with it if you don't know?
FF	Cause... I was never taught at school so I wouldn't know
Interviewer	So no knowledge whatsoever? [FF: mm hmm] What about your interaction with English people in the school in their home language, class or in the school where the medium of instruction is English and we teach all the children in this school as home language children.
FF	Um... It's only when I came to South Africa that I started to know these things but in Ghana we are mostly um...blacks [Interviewer: yes] and things and coloureds and things it isn't um... whites, it's...it's rarely a white there so we never really knew those type of things so it's only when I came to South Africa that (voice fading) I started to learn those things
Interviewer	Okay. So movies, don't you watch movies that (interrupted)
FF	Not in Ghana it was I... local movies that's what we used to watch
Interviewer	But here in South Africa?
FF	No I watch a lot of movies, American movies



Interviewer	American movies [FF mumble in background]. Umm English... [FF: mm],but mostly American [FF: yes]. Okay, and do you pick up certain cultural traits of behaviours (interrupted)
FF	Yeah I do actually I do like um... like when they m... how they walk and how they talk and stuff then you <i>wanna</i> try to imitate them and things so I try to imitate them my mum's like "you <i>tryna</i> ... you're trying hard to be something that you are not" so I stopped doing that
Interviewer	Are you trying to imitate... English people, speaking people because [FF: yeah]... it...
FF	Because we now in their world so we need to know what they're really doing and things so I <i>kinda</i> want to know how they think too
Interviewer	So you think in order to be a good English speaker or whatever you have to imitate [FF: yes] and be like them and talk like them and walk like them and behave like them (interrupted)
FF	Not walk like them [ Interviewer laughs] like maybe talk like them and thing cause we learn English all the time but to be able to understand certain things you need to know what's going on with a person so that will help me I think that will help me...
Interviewer	Do you think that watching contemporary movies that means that movies that are out now yeah? And music that's out now would give you a good understanding of what a native English speaker is all about or what their literature is based on?
FF	I think their literature is based on like... because [Interviewer: like the movies?] yes [Interviewer: Okay] because as time changes (interrupted)
Interviewer	So you think like the movies? [FF: yes] Okay what about Animal farm?
FF	Animal farm yes [Interviewer: is like the movies?] yes [Interviewer: how] because um Animal Farm i... when people are <i>tryna</i> be strong and things people who try to come into people they say oh they'll do this for you and things but when they come into power they end up not doing what they say they'll do so it's kinda just relating but in the... in the book it's more...um knowledgeable and more... academical... (interrupted)
Interviewer	But are there...sorry... are there some things that...are not in the movies that perhaps you find in literature [FF: yes yes ( in background)], okay. Right ummm [long pause] let's talk about your schooling. Your language of instruction from primary school, pre-primary school, primary school... and secondary school
FF	Primary school it was English, pre-primary school was English. Primary school was English, French and... Tri, depending on which um... place I was. Then um when I went to I moved again to Tamali then I had to speak English, French and...and Gada...um... da... Dagbani. Then when I came back to our Akra I had to speak English, French and Ga. So I always have to learn a different... a different language... which was very hard cause it's...it's always affected my English cause in Tamali we had to...I only stayed there for a year, when I came back to Akra I had to speak Ga which wasn't really helping me [long pause]. Um...then when I came to South Africa... um... I wanted to was...I was supposed to do Afrikaans but I couldn't do Afrikaans cause I was... it was affecting me and my teachers were saying that my English wasn't so good so I should focus on my English so I instead did French for a while then when I came to (the school) I just did English (mutters something).

Interviewer	Okay umm, when did you come...to (the school)?
FF	Um I came to (the school) in 2008
Interviewer	And you were in grade?
FF	Grade 9
Interviewer	Grade 9. and prior to that? Where was your schooling?
FF	Um.... Um... I was in Midrand um school
Interviewer	When did you come to South Africa?
FF	2007
Interviewer	2007, you wer...were in grade?
FF	8
Interviewer	8 so...um... basically your primary school was [pause] years were in Ghana and [FF: mm] ... you went to high school your fir... your entry into high school was (interrupted)
FF	Was in Ghana to... then I came to South Africa
Interviewer	How far in the grade 8 year were you?
FF	Um well in Ghana we have um the year in September, we start [Interviewer: right] the year in September so I had started a year but when I came to South Africa I had to do (fades off)
Interviewer	So basically you started your grade 8 in South Africa [FF: yes I did] and coming from a Ghanaian primary school education, what was your experience when you came to a South African class, it was a home language English class? [FF : yes] Yes, what was your [pause] experience.
FF	Well, everything was different, like um...the books we read, the books we had to do for studies and things was different ...um...
Interviewer	So for English you said the books were different? [FF: yes they were dif...] Explain
FF	Um...like in... we never did Romeo and Juliet in Ghana those type of things [Interviewer: okay] we never did that, we did more um... on what people wrote in Ghana. So it was an...textbooks, we never really did about [Interviewer: literature] yeah literature [Interviewer: Okay Novels] yeah [Interviewer: Okay] we never did that and um like the writing of essays and things it's also quite different cause how we were taught there is quite different to how we are taught to write here [Interviewer: okay] um... and the poetry we never did that [Interviewer: hmm?] the poetry (interrupted)
Interviewer	Let's focus on the... on the novel [FF: the novel] because that is what we focusing [FF: oh yeah] is yeah
FF	Um the novel was... (gibberish due to nearly breaking into laughter) when I here in South Africa that was the first time I actually did a novel
Interviewer	What was the first novel you had to read?
FF	Um..... mmmm... um... the... the Power of One...
Interviewer	Oh my goodness and it was a South African novel [FF: yes] and?
FF	And I was like I did not understand the first time I had to read two three times before I really got what was happening cause even though we were taught about the history [Interviewer: yes] of South Africa in grade 8 um... I did not really understand what was going on (interrupted)
Interviewer	Okay can you tell me what was the first...okay that was a south African context

	novel, [audible inhale] what about an English novel? [FF: an English novel?] You know something is based on English culture
FF	Oh I was thinking... u we would never do that like Romeo and Juliet and like (voice pitch rises drastically) Why would they ever give up their life for that cause we were taught never to do those type of things (interrupted, continues to mutter something in background)
Interviewer	Okay what about a novel your first novel [FF tries to say something] because you know Romeo and Juliet is drama [FF: yeah (interrupted)] So what was your next novel that was based on a English culture
FF	Mmm [long pause] (mutters to self) I've forgotten(very softly) [long pause]
Interviewer	Okay, alright doesn't matter. Why...okay so you said you came from... a Ghanaian context or environment where English was done differently, you can see you're only focussed on grammar... so you have two choices, you have English as a home language where you s...you would be treated as a native English speaker, your competence level must be the same as a native English speaker, [audible inhale] but if you went to English as a further additional language it would be... simpler. The focus on literature won't be as it is in your home language. Why did you come to the home language class?
FF	Because um... I did not really have a choice... there was nothing like in South Africa there's no such thing as my home...my home languages in South Africa, so I can't really say I'll do my home language in South Africa. So I did not really have a choice in that (gibberish). So, because... English is...cause we don't have the languages in my country in South Africa so I don't... I don't really have a choi...(interrupted)
Interviewer	Do you know the difference between further additional language and home language?
FF	Yes I do
Interviewer	So why didn't you go for the additional? Why home language where you know...it's going to be tougher [FF: Oh I did not know that] You did not know that? [FF: no], if you knew?
FF	If I knew I wouldn't...well I don't know maybe... how we were taught in Ghana, it wasn't the same as how we are taught here so that... English background was like really simple and easy so I w...I would've probably think it is the same so I would have still been in English home language... so... but if (interrupted)
Interviewer	You thought it was going be the same [FF: same] as Ghana [FF: yes] Okay
FF	Yes but if I had a choice then I would probably do ad... um English additional language
Interviewer	If you do English as an additional language you know that it... it's not perceived as on par because home language English is perceived as more superior [FF: superior yes] to further additional language [FF: mm], So you think you would've still chosen first additional language?
FF	No, my dad wouldn't allow me and I don't think... I think I wou... that I'd try my best and maybe push my English and try to be... a better speaker or (interrupted)
Interviewer	So what are you saying then? [FF: I wa...I want to be...] If you knew the difference and you had to make a choice, which would you choose?
FF	I'd choose being a um...I'd choose English as a home language so I can be able to... because English is an international language [Interviewer: mm] so being able

	to speak...and if I go out into the world one day I need to be able to, be on the same level as everyone. And choosing English as an additional language would not allow me to be able to do things as everyone would be able to benefit me, so I actually prefer English as a home language
Interviewer	Okay, now...considering your background and all of the things you've told me, how do you feel [long pause] when you are in the English home language class?
FF	Sometimes I feel totally lost, I have no idea what's going on so I have to ask what's going on but um...sometimes I do understand what's going on but my understanding's not the same as... what's actually going on so most of the time I actually feel lost in English, I feel lost but um after a while maybe... maybe we continue with what they're doing I get it then oh I understand what's actually going on, but the beginning of it am like "what do they mean by this?" "What are they trying to tell me? (mutters something)but after a while, after we maybe do it for the next lesson I... cause I go home to revise I <i>kinda</i> know what's going to happen I come and know what's going to (fading off, mutters something)
Interviewer	Okay so you feel confident? In the English class?
FF	No never confidence [Interviewer: mm?] I'm actually very scared to go um... to do an oral or anything like no matter how prepared I am so I am still scared (mutters something, interrupted)
Interviewer	When we do literature, when we studying like a novel in the home language class do you understand the things that are said?
FF	Not s... I understand them but on a basic level like [Interviewer: okay] I understand what's going on but not like maybe... you know you always ask for the underneath [Interviewer: mm] what's underneath, I don't get that, that's what I don't understand
Interviewer	How do you feel when you are in the presence of home language speakers...native English language speakers? [pause] The way they speak, the way they think, the way they answer the home language class
FF	Well certain times I do feel bad because am like why am I not able to do that cause if you... if you do English from a very little age you should be to get what everybody else istryna say but I sometimes feel bad am like why am I not able to do this while they are able to do it but I know I can't be able to really do anything except to like... in continue English as a home language then I may... might be on the same level... as they are I thing so... hope so
Interviewer	How do you try to better yourself? What do you do? Because I see you're very driven and you want to better yourself and you constantly want to do well... what do you do?
FF	Well I try not to speak um... at first I was concentrating on cause when I came to South Africa I was concentrating on not forgetting my home language but then my dad is like that will come later then I realise that also um at home we never speak um our home language we speak English so and like everything... like even to when I go like or any place I try to speak English with them whereas when am with older people that's when I speak my home language but usually (fades) [Interviewer: Usually?] I speak my... um I usually speak English all the time to help me understand it more
Interviewer	Okay so you practice., [FF: yeah] okay. [audible inhale] Right now we do the Gatsby test, [inhale] and the setting was an American setting and it was set in the

	1920s. Tell me how you experienced that, how did the context of where it was set, the environment and all of that influence your interpretation of the text when you read it?
FF	Well when I read it I did not know what was going on the first time and like because the um...like the English and things were... And like they always ask something um...be... behind of what they are really asking so I was sometimes confused of what's going on, I wasn't really sure of my answer cause what I thought was right wasn't really what's going on [Interviewer: mm] so maybe um like... um the... the Indian prince and things I was thinking maybe he's just saying that to... to um... trying to say he has been all around not only Europe (mutters something) so I was thinking maybe that's what he's trying to imply but then when ma'am um... when gave us.... When um I reread the text I realised he was actually...he was actually, because he had no knowledge of what he was doing that's why he did that. That's why brought in things that was not part of what <i>tryna</i> say...
Interviewer	Okay umm... but I uh am wondering how did the vocabulary [FF: agh that wa...] (mutters something)
FF	That was really har... (interrupted)
Interviewer	Because I would think that was the first thing that you would tell me [FF:no] because...
FF	That was like really hard because like ss... some words I had no idea what was it was you know sometimes you might not know a word in a sentence but because you read a sentence you might have a general idea what's going but with this text I read a whole sentence or a whole paragraph and I still had no idea what a certain word meant so it was like really difficult and so I <i>kinda</i> guessed what it meant but not really I did not really have the general idea of what it...what the word meant
Interviewer	So if you don't understand a word then... that's it?
FF	Um... yeah that's <i>kinda</i> the end
Interviewer	[Laughs] that's the end? But I like the fact that you said uh you try to find... so what you saying is you try to look at the meaning in context [FF: yes yes] where it is, and sometimes you hit right or not. Okay, now we're going to look at your performance in tests, right uh...do you have the test in front of you?
FF	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	we look at question 1.3.1 [pause] you got that wrong
FF	I have it right
Interviewer	1.1.3
FF	Oh 1.1.3 I have that that [Interviewer: yes, yes] yeah
Interviewer	Am looking at all the ones okay, refer to the one I am asking. Why would you not identify the figure of speech here?
FF	I... I have no idea cause I was thinking that it was personification but I was thin... that's what I thought it before [pause] cause um... let's see um [long pause] I thought it was personification, that's what I really thought because... because say it was it was pers...pers... um personified then (interrupted)
Interviewer	So you saying...okay it was personified? [FF: yes] Okay you said line 19 [FF: yah] and what does it say? What does line 19 say? Line 19...
FF	Um... the (mutters reading from the text)

Interviewer	Okay thank you, which figure of speech uses like and as
FF	Ah, I never thought if that. Simile mmm oh my word... I did not think... I did not think of that oh because it says sky and window I was thinking maybe it's like a person behind a window so that's what I was thinking it was personification
Interviewer	[Laughs] So you thought sky and the window and a person behind the window [FF: yeah] is personification [FF: yes]... and now how do you feel (interrupted)
FF	I feel really stupid because it's right in front of me long pause]
Interviewer	Okay... so yes T didn't expect anyone not to get that one, but right we look at question 1.4 with the reference to kite... uh I think not many people get that[ FF mutters something] I think that's not the word's usually used... um have you heard [FF: No I've never heard] you've never heard? Okay fine, um not I books, not in movies [FF: no} nothing? Right ummm ... do you read (mutters)?
FF	Sometimes
Interviewer	Sometimes, okay... Right let's look at question 1.5 [pause] hmmm... that is a question they ask of you to explain the ambiguity
FF	I never really understood ambiguity
Interviewer	So... you don't understand ambiguity? [FF: no] I want to ask... Is ambiguity in your culture? {FF: um... no} Is it in the writing? Is it in the speech? So you never experience ambiguity [FF: mm] not in your everyday speech (interrupted)
FF	I don't think I ever experience because when... before I talk I usually go over... um... the parts of speech and, I really doubt cause I didn't... really understand what was (mutters)
Interviewer	When was (mutters)... she didn't actually marry that man. She married a Mrs... Mr Wilson who is...=just like the man [FF: ooh] So that's what she said, she said she married a man just like him but [FF: of is that what it means?] Yes it's a... it's ambiguous... [FF: oh] sp when she said "I married him" they knew that she didn't actually marry the Jewish man, Mrs Wilson married Mr Wilson. But what is she saying though? [Rut She's saying...] What is she implying?
FF	She's implying she married someone like(emphasis) him [Interviewer: mm?] to ... be with (interrupted)
Interviewer	like what's she implying?, remember she said she would have married somebody So Mrs Wilson said "I married him(emphasis)" but we know she didn't marry him, she married Mr Wilson so what is the implication? [FF: um] What is the implication?
FF	Um... that she... she's marrying someone who she doesn't want because of status
Interviewer	She's marrying someone who's also lower in status yes (mutters). So would you have gotten that? [FF: no} Why not?
FF	Cause as in I seriously did not understand what ambiguity was [Interviewer: mmmm] I did not really ... what was really asked.
Interviewer	1.6 is another figure of speech [long pause] That is the figure of speech there?
FF	That... [long pause] (mutters something to self) um... well I actually am not so sure what it is cause { Interviewer: yes but it's a hyperbole, what is a hyperbole?} I don't know. [Interviewer: you don't know?] mmm.
Interviewer	Okay hyperbole is an exaggeration, so when she said she cried to beat the band... she's exaggerating but can you actua... can a person actually cry louder than a band? [FF: no] they can't, so what is she doing? Exaggerating. Why would she



	exaggerate?
FF	To make her statement like far more (mutters)
Interviewer	Yes, to show the depth of her disappointed, to see how disappointed she was, so she exaggerates, so it's a hyperbole [FF:mm]. um... Alright let's look at the next one it's 1.?....8 that you got wrong[FF: yes]. Right it is interesting here to note that you said no she does not follow infidelity but your justification for the discussion is yes it is correct [long pause], did you see that? [FF: yes] and? [paper crumbles]
FF	I think it's a very silly mistake cause I... all I was trying to say that us...sh... sh... she's not (mutters a lot)... Okay I'll say yes now because [Interviewer laughs] because she's says... its fine because she says love torn... so... she really has kind of an excuse of what she's doing
Interviewer	Do you know what she is saying is she's married to Mr Wilson but Tom was her first sweaty like now... [FF: oh no] So after her sweetie... because now Tom and her are having an affair... so Tom is her first sweetie [FF: oh...(mutters, interrupted)] while being married to.... Do you know that Mrs Wilson and um... Mrs Wilson and Tom are having an affair?
FF	No that I did not know
Interviewer	But it's in the s...
FF	I knew like... T thought of before then they meet again like something, it wa going on but not really an affair, maybe they were meeting as friends to catch up what happened before (interrupted)
Interviewer	So why did they go discreetly in the car not together if they were friends?
FF	Cause they did not want to cause they (mutters), he could have gotten suspicious cause they're trying to have an affair but I did not know they are currently having an affair now (mutters)
Interviewer	So you did not know tha... (breaks into chuckle), [FF: yes] I was scared of why you'd be doing those things, going out together (mutters), [FF: mm] Is that because maybe um... In your culture men and women can be friends like that?
FF	Not really but we wouldn't.... do something like that. Think (mutters, interrupted)
Interviewer	If a woman is married can she go with another man alone....? [FF: No no] She can't?
FF	No, you'd be friends there [Interviewer: you'd have friends?] Yeah, you'd have friends then the guy come together not he and you just alone
Interviewer	So do you think... because you don't understand... the whole infidelity aspect you couldn't... so that they were having an affair?
FF	Most probably (mutters)
Interviewer	Okay... Right... umm... do you know what condone mean?
FF	Not allowed
Interviewer	Okay, that's wrong because condone means to approve, yes when you are condone something you say...you know... like a condone class? [FF: oh] yes you are condoning which means you agreeing that you have followed, [FF: okay] so there are many factors then that... so not even knowing what the word means could have affected it, but also the fact that um... you didn't know that they were having an affair can't imagine [Interviewer laughs]. Right, we look at the vocabulary... um... which are the ones you got wrong; labyrinth, sinister and turbaned? [pause] [FF: mm] Right, um of cause bootlegger why d... why do you think you couldn't

	understand?
FF	Because I always thought someone who...because we used to call people bootleggers as someone who doesn't have a leg, one leg that's what e... [Interviewer: In Ghana?] yeah [Interviewer: Ooh okay] so that's what I was thinking of....
Interviewer	Alright, labyrinth?
FF	Labyrinth... I wa... because of the pressure I thought it... I was thinking I thought it was something blind [Interviewer: okay] then the... said something that made me think it's windshields and stuff [Interviewer: okay] I...(interrupted)
Interviewer	Alright, so just because it said labyrinth of windshield you thought oh
FF	Yeah it has something yeah...
Interviewer	So ... Turbaned. [FF: mm] Have you not watched movies with people wearing movies with people wearing turbans on their heads? Like wrapped around their head [FF : ooh] or whatever
FF	Because of... I knew it was something like hat or something like Indian [Interviewer: mm mm] but when they say something (mutter) So I was thinking it cannot be cause I wrote it then cancelled [Interviewer: okay(mild chuckle)] (mutters)
Interviewer	Um...Rajah? How did you know who a rajah was?
FF	Because I read about it
Interviewer	Ah...you... so you read a book and then okay... Right, 2.2.1, why do you think you got this one wring wrong? [pause]
FF	(To self) 2.2.1... Because I first did not know what a bootlegger was [Interviewer: right] and secondly um... I did not how a bootlegger and (mutters) and flowers (interrupted)
Interviewer	You thought it was a man with one leg walking around [FF: yah um...] [laughs] [FF mutters something].Okay, so what about irony? Do you get irony? Do you get irony?
FF	Irony I do understand
Interviewer	You do understand irony, okay because [FF: cause I said um... for someone who um...] So if a person has on leg...(interrupted)
FF	No no but... but because (mutters) woman was whispering, so it's trying to say he does not belong to...
Interviewer	Oooh okay so then [laughs] there were misunderstandings all around [FF: yes].Okay um... let's look at 2.2.2, you got this one wrong [FF: yes], can you tell me why you failed to answer that one correctly
FF	Mm [pause] (mutters to self) [pause] 2.2.2? [pause] Well I did not really understand um... what the um the poe... um the author was trying to cause I was thinking cause someone pulling a leg mean um yeah... but (mutters)
Interviewer	So you didn't understand the expression [FF: mm mm] pulling the leg...pulling your leg [FF: mm] the phrase [FF: mm mm], you didn't understand that it was an idiomatic expression and it actually means something else, not literally [FF: no]. Literally it means someone surgically pulling but figuratively it means that someone is lying in a joking fashion.
FF	No I... no I thought it was over exaggerating and stuff [long pause]
Interviewer	We're finished there. That's was? (mutters) We've done the um... you know what,



	you made a mistake, cause 2.2.2 is not about pulling the leg [pause] [FF mutters something] because 2.2.2 is about (reads from text) and you did in the answer for... pulling the leg... [FF: hmm?] yeah... [FF: so it was still related to...] 2.2.2 says “how does the narrator review his contempt for the people who come to his party?” Right, how does the narrator review his contempt for the people who came to his party? Now... um you got this one wrong, tell me why
FF	Um, contempt... I was thinking... is that in [Interviewer: hmmm?] So I was thinking (mutters) cause for them to... for someone to invite you to a party and you say he’s a bootlegger and I thought of the bootlegger was someone with no legs and also implying and saying things behind his back (mutters) you don’t know about the question that’s what I was thinking
Interviewer	Let’s look at what you said [long pause] um... those who accepted Gatsby’s hospitality and gave him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing whatsoever... about him. Do you not think that is being entirely scornful of them... because people do talk about people behind their back, if you go to somebody’s party, [FF: mm hmm] and enjoy (mutters) but you don’t even know their name... or what they are about... is really about [long pause]. Do you understand, let’s talk about it [FF: mm] you understand [FF mutters in background] that he’s contemptuous of that, what is somebody came to your house to a party that you did, they don’t even know you, they don’t even make an attempt to know you who you are or anything about you but they <i>gonna</i> drink all your alcohol, eat all your food, have a good time and go off... What would you think of somebody like that?
FF	That’s not manners and the person is very rude [Interviewer: right] (fades off)
Interviewer	Do you think the narrator was justified to be contemptuous about people who behave like that? [FF: no] He’s not justified?
FF	Contempt (mutters) [Interviewer: yes] Oh yes... Oh now am confused like he’s justified for...
Interviewer	Is he justified to be contempt?
FF	He...okay yes yes, because the first thing she sh... he first shows that the people what they were doing was bad [Interviewer: mm] so now he’s not even agreed with what the people are doing is actually right [Interviewer: mm] (mutters, interrupted)
Interviewer	Okay, why is it that you couldn’t see that? Because it’s right there in the text saying Gatsby’s hospitality and... accepted Gatsby’s hospitality and paid him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing whatsoever about him. Why did you think that was the worst thing? That’s why he’s so upset, that’s why he’s disgusted?
FF	Well... um, firstly when I said maybe I said that because the ladies ere moving away from him, his friend was... how um... he also said and he was lying cause when I read the book he was lying so I was thinking maybe because they... because they think he’s always lying so why would they respect and thing cause Gatsby was mad about what he had (mutters)
Interviewer	So if... you saying, whatever... uh if you think am a bad person and you came to my house and don’t get to know anything about me it’s fine if you enjoy my hospitality
	It’s not fine that’s why am saying I couldn’t understand why they did that [Interviewer: yeah] It was... was actually maybe they thinking... because they did say they think Gatsby did not get his riches in the right way [Interviewer: yeh] so I was thinking, because of that, that’s why he was being, that’s why (mutters).

Interviewer	But is it right to go to someone's house [FF: No] and you do that? But can you see? That you should have seen the narrator's point of view that you missed that one [FF: yes].
FF	Provide evidence (mutters rest)
Interviewer	Okay so it is 2....? [pause, FF: 2....] 2.3.1, yes provide evidence that supports the argument that the narrator believes that this actually a lie. You got this one wrong? Can you tell me why you failed to answer the question?
FF	I said he looked me sideways and I knew (mutters rest). So I did have that but I did not know how to (interrupted)
Interviewer	Did I give you a mark for that [FF: yes] Okay (interrupted)
FF	But I did not explain it fully cause I just gave the evidence [Interviewer: okay so you...] but did not... explain
Interviewer	Okay... why didn't you explain? So all you did was quote from the text
FF	I think I forgot about it cause I was in a rush and (interrupted)
Interviewer	Did you rush because you did not have enough time?
FF	[Pause] No I rushed cause I wanted to go through it of al... all I did cause the... the words... I wanted to come back and read again about what was going on so (mumbles). I thought maybe in my mind I'll come and do it later and forgot about it and... um
Interviewer	Okay, but do think you'd be able to explain now because...(interrupted)
FF	Yes, um... because for someone to... say something, if you are speaking to someone it's polite to look at someone when you taking... so that's speaking... you... talking and quickly look around and hiding um... make someone think of maybe [Interviewer: yes] implies that someone doesn't really know what he's saying so he's trying to distract him...
Interviewer	So he doesn't know what he's saying or is he lying?
FF	He's lying... well not know what he's talking about (mumbles), so he was lying, he did not want his friends to catch him what he was doing (mumbles)
Interviewer	Right 2.3..... [paper crumbles, long pause] Did you get 2.2.2?
FF	Okay I said um he's lying then I (mumbles) [Interviewer: mm] (mumbles more)
Interviewer	Do you know the difference between lying and lying in a joking manner? Like the pulling your leg experience.
FF	No, that I don't know. I say beforehand am joking and after I make it I say am joking [Interviewer: okay] and say something (interrupted)
Interviewer	Unless they expect you to know you joking? [FF: yes] Right 3.1... 3.1... explain how the narrator felt that Gatsby is... um... lying about his adventures abroad... Now it does not openly say he implies it. How do you reference the implied meaning? Now the reason why am asking you this because that's where you seem to be fearing, that query [FF: mm] imp... implication like implied image. How do you reference implied image? Reason I'm asking you this is I want to know ... do you speak like that when you're with family and friends [FF: um] use implication [FF: mm mm] or do you speak directly? [FF: I just speak directly] at all times? [FF: yes] What about your parents?
FF	My parents especially then cause [Interviewer: your family, your culture... in your culture] No because you can't say something and expect someone to know so it's just...

Interviewer	Direct, so in your culture you never experience it [FF: mm mm] you don't use it [FF: no] and the first time that you came to high school is when you learnt about these thing. Is that why... is that... when we look at your performance [FF: yeah?] that's where you seem to be doing mostly and your figures of speech of cause. So then... did you always struggle or was it only in this test?
FF	Well certain tests I do struggle with of cause cause ... um... cause what I think is fine should also work....
Interviewer	Why do you think so?
FF	I don't know cause to me... if you say something like that that I... um like you say a Rajah I um I'll think cause I read about an Indian that I'll think...
Interviewer	We are speaking about sentence structures... sentence structures, cause sometimes in a sentence it says one thing but the actual meaning is behind it... I've explained to you as we went along all the questions you're doing badly because of that [pause]
FF	Well (mumbles)
Interviewer	I'm talking about if a sentence has a certain... it looks a certain was you can't get what it's actually implying.
FF	Well because I don't... imply... stuff like so I don't know when they're implying (mumbles)
Interviewer	What is... do you understand what am saying? Am saying so far we looking at the question, we're not getting there, okay so...why?
FF	Because I don't know... I...
Interviewer	But you experienced it before in your country, in your culture, the people in your school [FF mumbles] before you came to South Africa [FF: no]. So is it the first time ... that you experienced it [FF yeah] okay, tight I'm actually gonna ask you a question where you think and answer okay my darling? Right um [long pause] so we spoke about... okay, 3.1, the answer then you see perhaps compare it to yours... 3.1 ... [paper crumble] The narrator mentions laughter which means... devious, (mutter), sceptical. He also says... that he is leaking saw dust implies more substance, okay, he says the Frasers are worn and spread there which means it's been worn in the same way so often it seems vigorous, that is the answer [FF: mm, long pause] Why were you not able to get that answer?
FF	Well firstly, I... (mumbles a lot)
Interviewer	It says...it says read lines 42 to 44
FF	Oh I did not look at that, cause my answer was from ...um... 38 to um... 40
Interviewer	The instructions say read lines 42 to 44 and answer the question
FF	Cause I did not read the question properly
Interviewer	Let's look at 3.2. How does the imagery in lines...in these lines, so that is 42 to 44, review his lack of knowledge about how the upper class really gets paid. How you did not really get that one, why?
FF	Firstly I did not use the real lines that was asked for so I did not know what was going on, but (interrupted)
Interviewer	Okay look at the lines now what do you see?
FF	[Long pause] I still don't... I still don't know what's going on... with tis [long pause]
Interviewer	What do you mean?

FF	[paper crumbles, long pause], I... I... do not understand what's going on with this one cause it says... um (mumbles) this is talking about how... the sentence how... it's talking about how they um the author doesn't believe... um... he doesn't believe um Gatsby. So it got nothing to do... with Gatsby's lack of knowledge so I wouldn't know (mumbles, interrupted)
Interviewer	Okay so the answer is... that it obviously is not a way... um is not way the wealthy upper class really behave. If Nick was able to see through his story, so he makes up something that is absurd and ridiculous because Gatsby... and then he goes on to say he speaks about the museums and stuff remember? [FF: mm hmm?] Showing that um... there is no such to that story, the imagery is a straw man with no substance and speaking about chasing tigers in the wild all alone... where only the (mumbles), so he would be out of place... okay no imagine now the image now look at the image [FF: yes]. The straw man, leaking saw dust, chasing tigers where only the (mumbles) of France chase tigers... is out of place? What does it... am so sorry... look at the image [FF: yes] What would you say?
FF	(mumbles) Saw dust would never be there or...
Interviewer	You see?[FF: yes] (Mumbles) When they said his story was unbelievable so in other worlds Gatsby has no clue about how they behave... [FF: mm...okay yes] Because the story that he makes up about... it's too absurd, outrageous, And Ludicrous. Would you be able to have arrived at that? [FF: no] What w... What is difficult about that?
FF	Because I did not look at the saw dust and... the... (mumbles), I did not understand the last line, you explained it [Interviewer: yes], I did not understand cause I did not even know that tigers like at... at parks, I did not know any of that.
Interviewer	Probably [FF: no](mumbles)
FF	I did not know... it was a park in the place I had no idea... because I was thinking maybe a jungle or something
Interviewer	Okay... so um... (mutter) [FF: no] So what was the idea about, do you know how the white English upper class used to be? Like how rich people, mostly white people (mumbles) [FF: not really] Really? Okay... um... [paper crumbles] I want to ask you a question, is this test structured exactly like a normal standardised test and exam? [FF: yes] What did you learn?
FF	I learned about the... firstly I learnt implication of words and things um... cause since we never use it so now like how they ... read things that imply (mumbles) that was my error. And the parts um... the parts of speech, I need to work on that
Interviewer	Is it parts of speech of figures of speech?
FF	Um... figures of speech
Interviewer	Okay, what is the difference between parts of speech and figures of speech?
FF	Mmm parts of speech is um... like um hmmm (mumbles), figures of speech is like figures if speech and things like that while parts of speech is... nouns and um... verbs and...
Interviewer	Alright, now um... So did you see what this exercise (mumbles) did you learn something? Anything that's going to help you analyse things better? [FF: yes] Alright, umm now I want to ask you... I want you to tell me me honestly... if you look at something, let's say the next question's like something you didn't understand. What do you get that expression and you can't... conventionalise it, you can't make an image, you can't associate those words with anything, what do

	you do?
FF	Then I leave it out
Interviewer	You just leave it out? Don't you try to find some other kind of explanation maybe from... your... (mumble)
FF	First we don't really use these, directly speak to each other, we don't imply things [Interviewer: yes] so I would not really have an... (interrupted)
Interviewer	But do you not of any other time... try to find the meaning from your own language when you're in this [FF: no] Never? So you never try to think of it in ... you always think in English? Okay, um if you come across idiomatic or figurative language, can you find an example similar in your language?
FF	Some of them [Interviewer: like what?] like um... like(mumbles) [Interviewer: mm]
Interviewer	When you come across idiomatic and figurative language in literature, can you find an equivalent in your language. In order to be able to... get a clear idea of what it means. [FF: No] Why?
FF	Because we don't have figurative language in my... well (mumbles)
Interviewer	Okay did you experience, go out with siblings or friends (mumbles)? [FF: no] Never? [FF : mm mmm] What about in your culture? Do people use verbal irony when they speak? [FF: no] Never? [FF: ah uh] What about (mumble)
FF	Okay that I would but not really [Interviewer: in your language] Not in my language
Interviewer	Where would you see it? [FF: in English] In English, but you say you didn't do literature, so where did you?
FF	Not, it's not something we were learning , not in my cu... are you speaking about my cu[Interviewer: your country] Then no
Interviewer	No? In your country you would not have experienced verbal irony or (mumble) [FF: no]... So you never experienced verbal irony.... In your country? [FF: no] In your language [FF: no]...or literal irony [FF: no]. So, when you came here and you experienced it... have you experienced verbal irony in south Africa? (laughs) where?
FF	In class [Interviewer: class?] mm (mumble)
Interviewer	Okay, and you recognise it? [FF: yes, Sometimes on the novel...] yes, and is it easy for you to access the knowledge?
FF	No [Interviewer: no?] Because when I have no idea what they are saying I only see irony when I use it
Interviewer	Same with hyperbole, the reason you didn't get... [mm] now, in your language spoken or written... is there use of hyperbole like exaggeration?
FF	[Long pause] um... we would know like exaggerations but it wouldn't be like implied, it would be like so plain [Interviewer: mm] than like how (mumbles)
Interviewer	But it's not like it is in the English language [FF: it's different] it's different? [FF: mm] Okay, um.... what do you do when some English references about culture is said to you? What do you do?
FF	Certain times I research it before I ask my friends (mumbles)
Interviewer	But if you find it in a test then what do you do?
FF	Um in the test, usually um I try to guess [Interviewer: mm] what it is [Interviewer: mm] and or I leave it out and go through the rest then get back to it [Interviewer:

	but otherwise?] Otherwise I can just leave it out
Interviewer	You leave it out, why is it problematic? structure... adequate and sometimes you didn't do it, even if your answer is incorrect [pause] because you would have to go back to the prefix of your sentences
FF	Um like I said before um... because of languages affection with imagination and things you have to focus more on grammar because um cause people come from from different backgrounds in Ghana... um... they have to make sure (mumble) so we mostly focus on grammar and um (mumble) and things um not literature
Interviewer	Thanks my dear, you were very helpful

## INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: GG

Interviewer	Afternoon.
GG	Good afternoon ma'am.
Interviewer	Alright, I'm going to start with the first question which is: Tell me about your cultural background.
GG	My cultural background. Well I'm Afrikaans... Completely. My mom and my dad... And both my grandparents from both sides are all Afrikaans. And I was raised up Afrikaans.
Interviewer	What do you mean raised Afrikaans?
GG	Like... The language we speak at home is Afrikaans and... like when I go out... its easier for me to communicate with people, if I speak Afrikaans. I feel more comfortable and...
Interviewer	Okay. Why are you then in an English median school, in a home language class because a home language class is for... is for... English... "L1" speakers or native English speakers and that's because that's the level of the English that is... exp... used... you are expected to be on that level in that class... and because you could do further additional language (being Afrikaans), why home language?
GG	Because English... is an important language in like throughout the world in like if you go to... it's like a world renown language and when you go to university, after school, and you do maths and all that stuff then, (confused wording), it's easier to do it in English... and you would do it in Afrikaans and then explain it to... maybe one day if you have an English, um, boss or something (INT - "mm") like that.
Interviewer	Okay. Do you ever communicate in English outside of class and to what extent?
GG	I dooo... some of my friends are English. And... teachers obviously. And... if I meet English people... then... I speak English.
Interviewer	But which language would you say you use the most?
GG	Afrikaans.
Interviewer	Afrikaans. Okay. Umm tell me about the foundation of your English language competence. For example: Did your parents read you... English fairy tales or buy you... children's literature, when you were growing up?
GG	No...
Interviewer	Not at all.
GG	No, no. I think... It started when I was young and my mom had one of those "Harry Potter" books.
Interviewer	How old were you?
GG	I was like... ten or eleven or...
Interviewer	Okay.
GG	And then I picked up one of the "Harry Potter" books because I used to watch it on T.V. and I enjoyed it. And then I read it from there on and then I got into enjoy reading.
Interviewer	Hmmm
GG	And then... I think that's how I got into... English literature.
Interviewer	But not when you were little?



GG	No.
Interviewer	Nothing. (GG Mutter - “No, no, no”) no stories? No children’s literature?
GG	All I can remember is all Afrikaans nursery rhythms... and... Afrikaans stories – “Wolf en Jakkels” and...
Interviewer	Yes, so all of the children’s...
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	But you know, “Wolf <i>and</i> Jakkels” – What would it be about?
GG	If it was in English?
Interviewer	Mmmm (in agreement).
GG	A wolf and a jakkel.
Interviewer	Oh! So... it doesn’t represent or replicate a story, English story?
GG	No, no. Not at all.
Interviewer	Oh, so it’s completely Afrikaans?
GG	Completely Afrikaans.
Interviewer	Ahhh... tell me do you read a lot, you saying (GG - “ja, ja.”) “Harry Potter” ... How much reading do you do?
GG	Ummm... when I’m interested in a book, I... read often. Like... I read the breaking dawn... book (INT - “so you read the twilit series?”) in one day. I read it in one day.
Interviewer	Wow. (emphasis on ‘o’)
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	One day? (GG - “One day.”) That’s quite a big book.
GG	Ja, very big.
Interviewer	So then you love reading?
GG	I enjoy reading if I get into the book and it fascinates me then yes.
Interviewer	So did somebody force you or you just got into reading?
GG	Not at all. I just... picked up a book and then enjoyed it and...
Interviewer	Would you say it helped you... definitely to improve your English?
GG	I (stutter) think it really did, like I still struggle with spelling (INT - “mm”) a lot.
Interviewer	No everybody does but uh, umm.
Interviewer	
GG	And I think that... the way you pronounce words... (INT – “Mmm”) And reading has helped me a lot with that. And understanding what words mean. And... Ja.
Interviewer	(Mutter) What aspects of native language culture, and social habits do you know? Like what can you... Can you look at English people and say – Okay; English people I know to behave like this and think like this and do like this. What, what do you...? (jumbled words)
GG	I don’t want to be stereotyping... (Jumbled words)
Interviewer	No, well just tell me what you think.
GG	I mean, me and my brother have this joke to say that English people are kind of rude (INT – “Mm... Mm”) but they don’t, they don’t realize it because if you go to Afrikaans families and... if for example; if I go to someone’s house (INT – “Mmm”), I have to go say hello to their parents first, before I can be comfortable in their house (INT – “Mm”). And a lot of my English friends just walk into my



	house, don't great my parents, come sit in my room. And then I'm just like... I kind of expect it from them, so I (INT - "Mm") just tell them. But there are a few English people that have surprised me and actually gone that extra mile and... went to go great my parents, and that's just one of the examples (INT - "Mm"). (Mutter) But a few things. Like, also amongst girls (INT - "Mm"). English girls are very different from Afrikaans girls, but I guess that's...
Interviewer	How?
GG	English girls are... very... naive if I might (INT - "Mm") put it that way. Like... they seem to believe things very easily and... I don't know, I think that's maybe just girls. (Laugh)
Interviewer	(Laugh) I'm sure, and knowing you, you know about the girls. Ahhh, but what about other social habits or maybe that differ from yours, maybe the way they co... like communicate? Do English people communicate differently from you? (GG - "Umm") From Afrikaans People?
GG	In what sense, like; speaking, phoning, Facebook...?
Interviewer	No, no, no - I'm just talking about, communication wise. Is there... (Jumbled words) is there a code...
GG	Like the way they speak to parents?
Interviewer	Yes. Special norm that's attached to English speaking people that maybe Afrikaans people don't... have.
GG	I'm not to sure... But there's one or two of my friends... speaks to like... like... the way they speak to their mom and their dad... um... like when they leave they'll just say bye but when I say bye to my mom I can't leave without saying "I love you" or... but my brother my sister, all three of us are like that. And umm...
Interviewer	Do you think all Afrikaans people are like the way <i>you</i> speak?
GG	Afrikaans people, Afrikaans dads are generally more strict (prolonged "s" sound) then English dads are or that's what I think. And, therefore I think that Afrikaans people... they tend to... make sure their parents are one-hundred percent okay with them when going out to a place or (INT - "Mm")... and a lot of my English friends also... not... aren't completely honest to their parents about what they're doing or where they're going. Whereas... or maybe it's just my relationship with my mom. We kind of an open relationship and we communicate... quite well I think.
Interviewer	But would you say understand the English culture really well? Being Afrikaans.
GG	(Pause) I think so. I think I do.
Interviewer	We know that umm... the English culture is, ah, presented in, in the text. In the story that we do. In the novel, that we do. Are you able to relate to that being Afrikaans?
GG	What do you mean ma'am? I'm sorry.
Interviewer	Coming from an Afrikaans background, there certain things about English behaviour that comes through in the text, or English references... are you able to recognize them or understand them?
GG	I'm able to recognize and understand them but I don't think I can relate to them.
Interviewer	Mm... Why?
GG	'Cause... I haven't had those experiences, and if I had I would relate it to something that, almost happened to me like that, not exactly like that.

Interviewer	Movies and music! English? Afrikaans?
GG	Ahhh... that's a tough one. I love music, and movies (INT - "Mm"). But I'd, I'd take for... English – movies, differently. Think it's on a (INT - "Bakgat?") different class. "Bakgat" was good, but I think it's... they... they more, break down Afrikaans culture (INT - "Yes" [prolonged]), then actually show what it actually stands for, I don't know if you've seen... umm... it's a new ah... "Platterland" (INT - "Mm"). I don't know if you've seen that movie (INT - "Mm-mm"[No])? It's one of the best movies I've seen in my life. And it's an Afrikaans movie (Mutter), it's a musical actually?
Interviewer	Is it?
GG	Ja. And I thought that movie actual shows you actually what... the real... 'Afrikaaner'... traditions... like the 'Melk tert', all that stuff. And with music, I like a lot of Afrikaans and English music. Music is the tough one.
Interviewer	Mmm, okay. Now tell me about your schooling from the time... from pre-school.
GG	I was in... ah Afrikaans pre-school.
Interviewer	Okay.
GG	"Heidi".
Interviewer	Mmm
GG	Then, umm... my family moved to Mpumalanga (INT - "Mm") and I went to an Afrikaans school from grade one to four.
Interviewer	(Mutter)... K.
GG	Then from grade four I went to... um... <incoherent> Primary. Which is an English school. And it wasn't that hard for me to, adapt because...
Interviewer	In grade?
GG	One to four.
Interviewer	One to four you went to (GG - Mutter) English? Okay.
GG	And... wasn't that hard for me to adapt because I mean when you're young... and you um... in nursery school and... language doesn't really matter. You, you just speak to your friends and... but I think when you go from grade one to four and you start learning, that's when I started to, learn English and... being able to... communicate with people and then from grade four to six... I went to an Afrikaans school.
Interviewer	Okay tell me about when you went to the English school first. From an Afrikaans pre-school, to an English... primary school (GG - "Ja"). How did you feel - Did you feel like you fitted in or... Did you feel a little out?
GG	I felt... a little, a little bit out but I didn't feel out I felt like I had an advantage, over the other children.
Interviewer	Is it, why? 09:10
GG	Because, because I already knew Afrikaans and now I'm going, coming to learn English.
Interviewer	Ohhhhh... (Emphasis on "O")
GG	And... Most of my friends, and those people were stuck with (Mutter).
Interviewer	How was there pronunciation, of English?
GG	It wasn't, it was really bad
Interviewer	(Laugh)

GG	I remember this one time, umm... but not just pronunciation... Umm... I was in class and I wanted to borrow...
Interviewer	“Pronunciation” [Correcting GG’s grammar]
GG	Sorry... (Ascending laugh)
Interviewer	(Laugh)
GG	I wanted to borrow a pencil (INT – “Yes.”) from one of my friends, and then I said the Afrikaans word and I struggle, I struggle... throughout primary school, I struggled with some words, for English (INT – “Mm.”), to get the words right and I think of an Afrikaans word and I know it, and it’s on the tip of my tongue and then... I can’t get the English word.
Interviewer	And when you went from the English school to the Afrikaans school, what happened?
GG	Umm... That was a bit more difficult... (INT – “Mm.”) Like, doing maths and all that. I was only in there a year though, I was in, from grade four to five and then I came to Pretoria. But umm, from grade four to five it, it was difficult. I still managed to get by, but then we had English classes (Stutter) I thought I had the upper hand because most of my Afrikaans friends couldn’t speak English
Interviewer	Right.
GG	So... it kind of helped me I guess.
Interviewer	So did you do... like, get the best marks because of that?
GG	Not the... Ja, in English I got the best marks (INT – “Mm.”). But umm... with other stuff like maths and... Social sciences and stuff like that; all the primary school subjects. I found it a little bit more difficult then I would in English.
Interviewer	And then, which was the primary school you ended up in?
GG	Lynnwood Ridge.
Interviewer	Lynnwood Ridge. Which is a, which is an English median, (GG – “Ja.”) again! So you’ve traveled in and out of English (GG – “Ja.”) Afrikaans. And, what happened there?
GG	In Lynnwood Ridge, at first it was... it was hard to adapt again to the English like some words again I would, have the Afrikaans word and couldn’t get the English word... But later...
Interviewer	Did people laugh at you when you pronounced the English words properly, uh badly?
GG	No, never... I’ve never, now actually yes. My friends like Mark and them... they would...
Interviewer	But in primary school?
GG	Not, not, not like laugh at me... but my friends would always bring it up and...
Interviewer	Tease you?
GG	Ja tease you, and then I would just be like “Okay speak Afrikaans to me.”
Interviewer	(Laugh)
GG	And then they have nothing to say.
Interviewer	Then Lynnwood ridge to (the school).
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	Okay and then what happened there?
GG	In Willow ridge I think grade eight and nine, my English was still... like rusty...

	(INT – “mm.”) Like I could always speak and I’d like to think that I’m umm quite fluent in English (INT – “Mm.”). But obviously not. Like...
Interviewer	No you are. For an Afrikaans speaking person you are quite fluent.
GG	Thank you ma’am. But umm... I think it was a bit rusty and I’ve... I don’t think I’m the best English speaker but I think I can hold up my own...
Interviewer	You can hold your own.
GG	Hold my own. See, see what I mean ma’am.
Interviewer	No! (Laugh)
GG	(Laugh) Like... Ja... I think so and I think... Ja that’s about it.
Interviewer	Umm... So... again you saying the home language class is the better place for you because you think you going to get a... (Pause) better education (GG-Mutter). Okay! But how do you feel, when you sit in a home language class; Do you feel like, the native English speakers have an advantage over you, maybe, do you feel that sometimes... uh... you feel a little inferior maybe when your answer incorrectly or... how do you feel, tell me?
GG	Ma’am are you saying this now because I always say – It’s because I’m Afrikaans in a...
Interviewer	No, no.
GG	(Laugh)
Interviewer	I’m asking questions that I ask all the candidates.
GG	Oh okay. Umm... I... I do sometimes (INT – “Yes.”) other times I feel a bit, like people would know more because they are English and they put things better than I can put it. But, I never feel like... it’s... a liability for me (INT – “Okay.”) I never feel... I feel like I’ve learnt from it and then... if I make a mistake once and then not make that mistake again... Ja.
Interviewer	So do you think attitude, learning a second language, helps you... a lot more? Because if I talk to you, and I see the way you look at things it seems to me that umm... it is your attitude to learning the language that um... is what is helping you... to do better.
GG	Definitely. (Both talk simultaneously)
Interviewer	Sorry.
GG	Sorry, I think that... attitude towards anything, learning anything, if you really enjoy a subject then you do well in.
Interviewer	What do you think about your teacher this year, your teacher in English? Do you think she is capable of helping you to... do better in English?
GG	Most definitely, I’ve never... met someone who is as good in the English language as she is. And the way she teaches, makes everything just so fun, and... makes it like exiting when you go to her class and... when the bell rings and she doesn’t let you go out and you’re late for class but you don’t really mind... so yes I definitely think that... my English teacher this year... had been a... big, big reason to why I ‘wanna’ carry on with English, well not carry on with English but learn more about English and, be better and do better... ah...
Interviewer	Do all Afrikaans people have the same, attitude that you have to (Giggles) the subject?
GG	Pardon me?
Interviewer	Do all Afrikaans people... have the same attitude that you have, towards English

	or learning?
GG	I don't think so.
Interviewer	Why?
GG	Because... people find adapting to different... or learning different languages to be very difficult.
Interviewer	All the people, or just Afrikaans people?
GG	No...
Interviewer	Be honest!
GG	(Stutter) In my Afrikaans class, there's a lot of English people who struggle to...
Interviewer	Let's talk about the Afrikaans people. And learning English and speaking English, is there some kind of... you know...
GG	...I'm not to sure...
Interviewer	...Negative attitude to learning English?
GG	I don't... umm... I'm really, I'm not to sure, because I've got a few Afrikaans friends in our school who do very well in English and enjoy English. But I think it's also because they were in an English primary school like I was and...
Interviewer	Makes a difference.
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	Okay right, let's talk about Gatsby the text. Ah... you know that this text is set in America in the 1920's. Tell me how has this influenced your interpretation of the text?
GG	(Mutter)... 1920's? Um, I'm pretty sure there was Apartheid in America, or (INT – “Mm”)... not apartheid but... they had fighting...
Interviewer	But if we look at this story now, Gatsby, it had to do with umm... the ban on alcohol and alcohol consumption, bootlegging, and then, umm... people getting (Muttered word) and selling illegal alcohol, the Al Capone era. Umm... were you able to identify with that?
GG	I was, I was because of all the movies you watch... and, all the stories that you hear, well not stories you hear as much as the movies you watch (INT – “Mm.”), then you can kind of.. as well as when I read, can kind of get a mental picture of what I see. And when I read that I could kind of see the set and... see what happens
Interviewer	Ah, that's interesting. (Paper folding) Very interesting, let's look at your answers now.
GG	Do we have to? (Laugh)
Interviewer	(Laugh) Believe me, you did well (Laugh). Everybody struggled with this question, if you look at this page you see I've been trying to explain to everybody (Laughs). This 1.5. right tell me umm... in Afrikaans, are there indirect forms of saying things to someone? Are there? Like you know how you have, ah, irony. In English. Where there's an indirect way of speaking, if you say to someone – You're an Einstein aren't you? Your saying that they stupid. Are there equivalents in... Afrikaans?
GG	Definitely, (INT – “Defently?”) ja there is. Umm... many, actually, like I... could give you examples but I can't tell you, like the name of them I'm not always good with nouns and...
Interviewer	Alright.

GG	All that stuff.
Interviewer	And did your parents, when they umm... (Stuter). As you grow up, and you know (stutter) in there interaction with you, did they speak anything to you indirectly? Or was it always direct?
GG	No, sometimes you pick things up like when the parents speak and you hear that then that you ask my mom - What was that? What was that? What was that mean? And then you learn (INT - "Yea.") from that. Like my mom was always, she always used to... explain to me, in... different ways, always used to tell me a story and explain to me and then ...(stutter)... and when she told me, and she'd explain, I'd be like - what are you going on about? And then when it finally happened to me then I'd realize, and I'd click and I'd be like... - that's what that meant and...
Interviewer	So there is implication in direct... instruction or direct speech. Not indirect speech but you know, saying something but meaning something else. Ambiguity, that type of thing, in your culture (GG - "yes.") and you've grown up with that?
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	So you are able to recognize. Do you use irony with your friends, with your family?
GG	In English or Afrikaans?
Interviewer	In English.
GG	In English, yes I do.
Interviewer	A lot?
GG	Yes, a lot.
Interviewer	Okay, so you are able to... or understand things like irony and... implied meaning where you say something but you actually meaning something else (GG - "Ja."). You are aware of that because it's part of your culture.
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	(Pause) So then... you um... not completely clueless when you look at a text. You know with the English writing, there's always a purpose structure and then there's, the implied meaning...
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	So, you are aware that that exists and do you struggle with finding that?
GG	I'm aware and I wouldn't say I struggle but sometimes I... think like everyone (INT - "Mm."), you struggle seeing some things. Like you read it and then you read fast and you come back and you read it again and then you snap, you click and you understand ((INT - "Mm.") but sometimes it does escape me and I don't understand completely... what was meant y that.
Interviewer	K... What about figures of speech?
GG	I'm not really good with figures of speech.
Interviewer	Why?
GG	I don't know, I think I just get very confused.
Interviewer	But we spoke about irony and ambiguity and uh... sarcasm - I'm sure you use that a lot.
GG	Ja. (Laugh)
Interviewer	Then?

GG	I understand I understand I can use a few of them but, there's a few... I wouldn't understand completely, like I... like ja. I would understand completely.
Interviewer	Okay. Now 1.5. This is the question that I said that everybody got wrong. What is your answer for 1.5?
GG	I said; It's like she doesn't want to be married to him... but just settles for him.
Interviewer	(Pause) How is that ambiguous?
GG	(Pause) Because she kind of... the, the, the... first speaker: I think its Katherine?
Interviewer	Mmm, Lucille.
GG	Lucille said that um... at least she didn't marry him (INT – “Mm.”) and then she said but I married him. But (INT – “Who's the him?”) she didn't marry the same him but a person like (INT – “Right.”) him. (long pause) I think.
Interviewer	(Long pause) Right let's look at this, umm... now, of course that time...(incoherent/incomplete word)... I Mean you can see there attitude to, to Jews, by...
GG	Mm, ja.
Interviewer	The insults. So Lucille says she didn't marry him, and then... Murtal says I married <i>him</i> , right? SO she didn't marry the Jew, right? She married, Wilson.
GG	Someone like him, in the same situation.
Interviewer	Yes. Someone... how?... Who is?... Inferior. How many marks did you get for that?
GG	Nothing.
Interviewer	Yes. So the answer is: Her worth signifies that she married a Jew, but the him that she refers to is mister Wilson, who liked the Jew that they considered inferior. Who, Whom they consider inferior, is socially inferior, or inferior to Murtal. (Pause) Right 1.6. The figure of speech, what did you say?
GG	I said it was a metaphor (INT – “Yes.”). because it cried to the <(Jumbled wording between GG and INT)>. So... I (Stuter) think it was an afternoon she went for a nap or fell asleep <(incoherent, INT inturupts – “Ja.”)>.
Interviewer	She said – She cried to beat the band all afternoon. What is your understanding of the band?
GG	I felt like that meant all the other people that felt the same way that she did, like she was part of the band. Basically.
Interviewer	Ohhh... (Emphasis on “o” sound) In... if you look at the words “Beat the band”, so in other words louder than the band.
GG	Oh.
Interviewer	Do you see that?
GG	I thought she might have been the drum, to the band...
Interviewer	No, she's louder to the band.
GG	Ohhh...
Interviewer	But good reference. (Laughter by both). Louder than the band, now that's... So is she exaggerating?
GG	(Pause) Yes.
Interviewer	What is the figure of speech?
GG	(Pause) I'm not good with figure of speech ma'am.
Interviewer	Hyperbole... Hyperbole, she exaggerates the sound and the length of her crying in



	order to illustrate the depth of her disappointment. When do we exaggerate, for what?
GG	When we... really want that extra attention... (heavy laughter by both)
Interviewer	(Cough) It is speaking about – if I want to show the depth of my sadness... then I would say: I cried for days and days and days... to show how long (elongated “o” sound) I was sad, do you understand (GG Mutter- “Yes, yes.”)? So we exaggerate in that way, so I, I get it that, that, um... figure of speech is a problem. Right! 1.7. Uh, read your answer to me.
GG	He borrowed somebody’s best suit to get married in and didn’t even tell me.
Interviewer	How... Does that prove that he was undeserving of her? That just proves he was poor.
GG	I think... because... I think in, her sense that maybe uh... not having money plays a minor role in it. But also that he was... a coward in not telling her and he wasn’t man enough for her by telling her that “I don’t have my own suit, I’m going to borrow someone else’s suit.” (INT – “Mm.”) He was basically leading her on. And then hes actually a wimp.
Interviewer	Let’s look at this word; she says he’s not fit to lick my shoe.
GG	(Pause) He’s, he’s not worthy of being in her presence.
Interviewer	But how low can a person be... if I said to you: I won’t even let you lick my shoe.
GG	Pretty low...
Interviewer	Do you understand?
GG	Why would you even marry a person like that in the first place?
Interviewer	Exactly! Now If you look <(Jumbled wording)>, he’s not fit to lick my shoe... can you understand the depth or how little she thinks of him because, generally... it’s pretty demeaning to tell a person “Lick my shoe”. But if she says “Ah, ah, you can’t even touch me, you can’t even touch my shoe.” So that’s... do you understand, that... undeserving, if, if she says to not even lick my shoe. So the word undeserving, the undeserving refers to that.
GG	Definitely I think it would.
Interviewer	Why didn’t you pick that one?
GG	Because... I honestly don’t know. I think, I think it was more that she saw it more in a money way of not being deserving of him, that it might of played a role in why hes not deserving of her...
Interviewer	But you don’t think that there could be other things that maybe he didn’t... you know...
GG	Maybe he wasn’t man enough for her, I, would, honestly don’t know.
Interviewer	No you absolutely, absolutely correct. But do you understand you have to look at things in the context, in order understand them (GG – “Yes.”). You have to, you can’t just say that fits in there (GG – “Ja.”). You have to look at the context, you have to look at; this is pretty deep, so obviously this must be the worst thing you know? (GG – “Yes.”) That someone can say. So you missed that one. (scuffling of paper) Umm... 1.8. Interesting answer: own values and belief systems. That’s what I wrote; I said your answer represents your own values and beliefs system. Read your answer.
GG	I said no she doesn’t, she really... and then I quoted – “She really auwt to get



	away from him”, this shows that Katherine wants her to leave him and not cheat on him.
Interviewer	You see, so now you bring your own belief system in saying... she mustn’t, she doesn’t want her to cheat. Which you probably think is wrong and whatever. But, if you look at the word “condone”. I asked: does she condone. Do you understand what condone means?
GG	Does she... is she for it?
Interviewer	Yes, for it. But, she knows. If you look at the passage, she knows that she’s, he’s married right? She’s married to mister Wilson. (Scuffling of paper) But she says he must get away, she says get away, from him, and then (scuffling of paper) “And Toms the first Sweetie she’s ever head”, now she’s having an affair with Tom. And she’s saying she must leave him, and be with tom who’s her first sweetie. So... at the moment, Tom is cheating with Myrtle while she’s married. Tom is also married. So... can you see that she actually condones it, because she doesn’t...
GG	Do anything about it.
Interviewer	Do anything or say you should not do it (GG – “Ja.”), she’s actually promoting it because she says, and Toms her first sweetie you know (GG – “Yea.”)
GG	I don’t think I read that far... into going into my answer (INT – “Ja.”)
Interviewer	So now you see in your answer you must be able to look at the whole context of... what is going on to be able to derive at an answer.
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	Right. Now we look at the next one is... 2.1. Did you get any of those there?
GG	Of the 2.1’s?
Interviewer	Mm.
GG	I got two.
Interviewer	Which ones you get?
GG	I got complicated maze (INT – “Ja.”), and then evil. (muttered – ‘and suspicious.’)
Interviewer	Where did you get the maze answer, how did you work that one out? The labyrinth.
GG	In, in the text, of the... it made sense that it would be something very difficult to figure out.
Interviewer	Okay, very good. And of course sinister is... a common word (GG – “Yea.”) actually but you’d be surprised about how many people get that wrong. Right, why didn’t you get... turban and rajah?
GG	Why didn’t I get them?
Interviewer	Mm.
GG	Um. I think when she’s, when she said the rajah, I thought she, he meant, the...
Interviewer	Curry Powder.
GG	No, no, no. (Laugh) I thought she meant the... I thought, I thought she meant the... the rajah emperor...
Interviewer	(Hard laugh). Yes?
GG	The, with the raga one I thought that they... I went a bit too far and I thought it was the raga, ‘cause there was the emperor, called raga, and I thought that it meant that he lived like an emperor... ‘cause it (INT – “It’s right.”) says that he

	lives like a rajah
Interviewer	It's right, but did you write it there?
GG	I wrote emperor.
Interviewer	Emperor is not right. Its Indian prince. (GG – "Oh.") but raga the word, you should have started with Indian and then gone to... well...
GG	Oh and that turban I thought it was a person that was wearing a turban.
Interviewer	What's a turban, you've explained the name, the, the connotation of the word turban. What does turban mean?
GG	An Indian... well I'm not sure if its Indian, but I've only seen Indians (INT – "Mm.") wear it like, a scarf or on the head (INT – "Mm.") basically.
Interviewer	Mm, mm. why didn't you write it?... because that would've been right. Why didn't you write that?
GG	I don't know... (Laughter by both)
Interviewer	Right now we look at 2.2.1. Umm... you got that partly right.
GG	Partly yes.
Interviewer	Mm. um... read your answer, let us look at which part you got.
GG	I said it's ironic because they are in HIS garden, sipping HIS cocktail, talking about HIM (INT – "Mm."). Being a bootlegger (INT – "Mm.>").
Interviewer	That is, definitely a good answer. Right. But you see the irony is um, wouldn't you say that is more like being disrespectful to your host, you know one shouldn't do that (GG – "Ja."). One shouldn't be in some bodies home drinking their booze and, and <(Mutterd speech)> alcohol and um... and um, 29.54 something. You know, you, in their own home speaking... would you say that's impolite or ironic?
GG	More impolite. (INT – "Ja.") Now that you mention it
Interviewer	Ja it's more impolite. (GG – "Ja.") But the irony is if you know the term bootlegger; a bootlegger is someone who sells alcohol illegally or makes it illegally. So there...
GG	Its only alcohol? (INT – "Mm?") Sorry.
Interviewer	Only alcohol in this context. So he's a bootlegger, he's making, he's making or selling alcohol to enrich himself which is against the law. And, um... They are drinking that alcohol... firstly... his alcohol, that they are... labeling him for... and! Against the law because you're not allowed to drink alcohol. Can (GG – "Yes.") you see the irony now?
GG	I see, ja, that makes a lot more sense
Interviewer	Yes. If I say – wow GG you're such a... delinquent, you know, you are...a ... smoker and... I'm a pupil and I take it and I start smoking. How ironic is that? (GG Mutter) So, the same thing you know, he's, they accusing him of being... You know somebody who does things against the law, you know criminal (GG Mutter) but they are doing the same thing! By drinking it your just as guilty because it's against the law so did you get the irony there?
GG	Yes, yes (INT – "okay.") I got it now.
Interviewer	So do you think if maybe you knew the term bootlegger you would've...?
GG	I think so, I think... um, I was... quite surprised by myself by thinking of when I heard bootlegger, cause I watched, cause I watched series and I heard bootlegger and I thought of a smuggler... my first thought was actually I thought it would be

	a pirate. (INT laugh) but obviously in the context it couldn't be one.
Interviewer	Ja, I this context it would've... no. Umm... 2.2.2 (elongated speech)... Umm. Did you get it right?
GG	2.2.2? What was the question, sorry?
Interviewer	How does the narrator reveal his content for the people that came to Gatsby's party? What did you say?
GG	2.2.2? (INT – "Mm.") (Pause) Why do I not have it?...
Interviewer	I said answer structure... (crunching of paper) (Long pause) you don't, you didn't answer it.
GG	I must of, missed it.
Interviewer	Ja... (Pause) You didn't answer that one.
GG	I apologize... (Paper folding)
Interviewer	2.3.1 (Exhale)... 2.3.1 is: provide evidence from this text that supports the argument that the narrator does not believe that Gatsby was not educated in Oxford.
GG	(Pause) I said, (INT – "Ja, read.") he looked at me sideways, (INT – "Ja.") choked on it... and therefore he didn't believe him... by looking at him sideways, usually when you look at someone sideways (INT – "Jap.") and you...
Interviewer	But that's what im saying: answer structure, because, what should you have done?
GG	I should have put it in better words.
Interviewer	What, how, how should you have said it?
GG	Ah, I would've, first I would've led with a quote (INT – "Mm, mm") by saying 'he looked at me sideways and then choked on it' (INT – "Mm, mm"), then I would've said that usually when you look at someone sideways... (Both speak)...
Interviewer	So you should of said that this implies... that he's lying or whatever... so you missed that part. Umm... 2.3.2... what did you say for pulling my leg?
GG	He was making a joke to see his reaction.
Interviewer	Alright... I noticed that all... the people said this; that pulling your leg is a joke. So if I tell you a joke am I pulling your leg?
GG	No.
Interviewer	No. but if I tell you a lie (Emphasis on "ie" part). In a joking fashion... would that be pulling my leg?
GG	I don't think so... (INT – "Mm.") Why, why would that be pulling my leg?
Interviewer	Yes, if I'm telling you a lie... I'm having you on. You know when somebody says he's having me on...
GG	Ohhh...
Interviewer	Right.
GG	I understand.
Interviewer	You see (GG – "ja.") he's lying, he's not telling the truth, but in a joke... Do you get it?
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	So when (GG – "I understand now.") say pulling my leg, you have to be able to say... telling a lie, but in a joking fashion. (GG Mutter) in order to see that... to explain that, but everyone, in fact I think everybody, said: "It's a joke.", pulling my leg is a joke... they don't get that, you have to be lying (emphasis on "y")...

	to be pulling... (GG Mutter) otherwise you just telling a joke. Right umm... 3 point... 1, you just quoted. The answer, the question says: explain how the narrator reveals Gatsby is lying about his adventures.
GG	I just made a quote and I said: "With an effort, I managed to restrain my <(incoherent word)> laughter."
Interviewer	What does that mean?
GG	It means that... with... I should of probably explained... (INT – "Yes (enthusiastically).")
Interviewer	What does it mean?
GG	It means that... you... with... hard concentration, not concentration but with, big with strain, he kept in his laughter... for... the, disbelieving in Gatsby.
Interviewer	(Pause) Okay. Did you get that... what does incredulous mean?
GG	(Pause) A lot. Like, overwhelming.
Interviewer	Incredulous means, sceptical, disbelieving, dubious.
GG	Oh... Okay.
Interviewer	So then... incredulous laughter would be?... skeptical laughter, why? Because disbelieving laughter...
GG	...They don't believe him (Mutter)...
Interviewer	Have you ever done that before when somebody is telling you a story (GG – "Yes.") and you know it's not true.
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	Definitely not true. You laugh (GG – "Yes.") in a skeptical fashion, yes... saw dust, no substance to the story, he said he was leaking saw dust. He also says; "His phrases were worn threadbare." do you understand what that means – threadbare? Worn threadbare.
GG	No, I do not understand what...
Interviewer	When something is threadbare, it's been over used. (Pause) So you only see thread, like fabric is worn...
GG	Oh.
Interviewer	Or like fabric. You know?
GG	Ja.
Interviewer	Think about something... Umm... now this Is very important; How does the imagery in those lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge? 3.2... ah... firstly, what do you understand about... how... the upper classes behave? Notice I didn't say rich people. Because there rich people... and then there's those people that are beyond rich (GG – "Ja.") they are upper classes and... You know, they have a certain behavior. What do you understand?
GG	I...
Interviewer	English society.
GG	I understand that... they would go, go and do stuff that other people couldn't do because of there, finances and stuff like that (INT – "Mm."). But umm... I think that... he, over did it a bit too much (INT – "Mm.") with all the stuff that he stated. Like going on holiday (Emphasis on "o" sound), like all the time and being in Paris and then being here (Emphasized), drinking wine and watching the sunset here and do that there (Elongated wording for emphasis) (INT – "Mm."). I think he over did it a bit to much, I think if he sold it a bit less then... he might of

	gotten away with it.
Interviewer	Definitely... so uhm... then why did you get it wrong?
GG	I'd... answered very short and... very, like... straight forward but not enough... I just said that he over did it a bit too much.
Interviewer	What do I understand about that?
GG	He could have over done anything (INT – “anything.”).
Interviewer	Ja, so what did you learn from that?
GG	What I've learnt from this whole text?...
Interviewer	Okay no just from that one, line.
GG	To answer fully.
Interviewer	Ja. So then you see by just saying he over did it because it's very very ambiguous... or it's not clear. You have to be able to say, because, we need to see an understanding of... how they behave and how... they get to know that Gatsby was lying. Umm... number 4, wrong completely. And five, why? For and five. (Paper folding)
GG	Number four...
Interviewer	And five. I think... number four is: what does the incident with the policeman reveal about Gatsby?
GG	I think that he was adventures, because... they were racing... motorbikes, or... racing motorcars (INT – “Yea.”), weren't they?
Interviewer	Okay... (Pause) the policeman stopped Gatsby. What do you think he stopped Gatsby for?
GG	For being a bootlegger, for smuggling and...
Interviewer	Do you think he wanted to give him a ticket?
GG	(Pause) I suppose...
Interviewer	Right and then what did Gatsby do?
GG	He got himself out of it.
Interviewer	What does this reveal about him?
GG	That he's... cunning. And... sly and clever! Actually.
Interviewer	You think? (Skeptical)
GG	I think he's clever.
Interviewer	So if... a person... doesn't want to... obey the law... and tries to get out of it... he's cunning and clever?
GG	No. but if a person tries to... umm... get past the law and to speed!
Interviewer	Let's look at what he said, he said, umm... (Folding of paper) because the policeman said excuse me” he tipped his cap, what does that mean, when you tip your cap?
GG	That you... salute basically, that (INT – “Ja.”) you understand...
Interviewer	Ja, respect, right salute respect. He says “No you next time Mr. Gatsby, excuse me.” What do you think excuse me means, in this context?
GG	Excuse me... I'm not too sure...
Interviewer	Okay... watch how mister... “Gatsby! Excuse me.”
GG	That he's sorry (INT – “Yes!”).
Interviewer	What does he, why, listen, now watch why is the apologizing. (Cough) Then! Nick asks him, “What was that? The picture from Oxford?” because he always

	picks out the picture, he says – “I was able to do the commissioner a favor (emphasis on favor), once. Sends me a Christmas card every year.” He shows the policeman a picture, of him, the <(Incoherent/Incomplete word)>. Umm... of the commissioner. And then the policeman says... “Okay mister Gatsby...” what does that mean?
GG	It means that the... policeman was obviously... in like fear because of the, because, he thinks that... um... Gatsby is one of the acquaintances, of the (INT – “So...”)
Interviewer	What does it reveal about Gatsby?
GG	That he’s well connected?
Interviewer	Yes. Well connected, what else?
GG	That...
Interviewer	What implication is there?
GG	That the policeman might of lost his job? Or...
Interviewer	No. Is he corrupt, maybe? Crooked.
GG	Yes.
Interviewer	Why didn’t you right that answer, I had to eventually give It to you (Hard laugh from both). Why didn’t you, why didn’t you see that?... the favor, so you do a favor, for the head of police. So you can’t get a ticket.
GG	Ja...
Interviewer	It worries me that, you didn’t see (GG – “Ja.”) that it’s a wrong... That it looks, the implication (GG stutters).
GG	...Kind of a deeper meaning...
Interviewer	Think about the police. Because the police should be above the law, wherever you are you get a ticket. If the policeman saw whatever he showed him and went – “Aww, sorry Mr. Gatsby, know you next time (With accent).” In other words I’m not stopping you again. “Excuse me.” Maybe he was intimidated?
GG	I think he was...
Interviewer	Gatsby was (GG – “Ja.”), crooked, corrupt, we don’t know what it is; he told Nick it was, ah, picture. We don’t know what it was. Or even if he showed him his card and said Gatsby, but mister Gatsby... as soon as he saw something. You see what I’m saying (GG – “Yes.”)> It could be just the name (Emphasized), that struck he, him like “Oh, it’s you, sorry ill never do this again” (GG Mutter)... because Gatsby was connected with a mob or (Stutters) not openly said but you know... so... umm... but what, what can you tell me about... arriving at the answer, what do you have to do to arrive at the answer?
GG	Think you need to read the question properly.
Interviewer	Mm, what else?
GG	And... You need to... understand the text.
Interviewer	Do you only have to read that one line or whatever or do you have to... (GG – “I think you have to...”)
GG	It thinks you need to read everything and understand everything around before you can understand them (Mutterd)...
Interviewer	Absolutely! Right umm... (Paper folding) What I wanted to ask you is... (Folding paper) (Pause) What happens if you don’t understand a word the, English do you try to access it in Afrikaans?

GG	Sometimes I do, I do (INT – “Is it.”) try that and then I think... I, I think of the word and then I think of the Afrikaans meaning of the word (INT – “Mm.”) and then I translate it back into English. (INT – “Okay.”)
Interviewer	Uh... if you come across... idiomatic, or figures language... ah, ah, do you try find a similar one in your language to get meaning from for it (GG – “Ja.”), okay... and do you succeed or does it go messed up, go, get... (GG Mutter) you do? Okay. Umm... Right um. I know exaggeration is not something you guys... um... ah (Laugh). SO you in your language ambiguity would be... a figure of speech that you would be able to find as well (GG – “Yes.”) (INT Mutter). So figure of speech shouldn't be... a problem because... (Long pause) um, you have experienced in your culture and you are aware of it and access information. (GG – “Yes.”) Okay. Do you, what do you think, now that we've spoken about literature, what do you think about grammatical (Emphasized)... competence? Do you think... your dramatical competence is on par?
GG	Umm... no I don't think so.
Interviewer	Sentences structure.
GG	I don't think so.
Interviewer	Why?
GG	Because... I think I'm, a bit lazy when it comes to... answering a question to my full potential. And... also sometimes I don't... understand the question, well I understand it! But I don't answer it... I don't answer the question, I answer around the question. And I think that I need to focus on just answering the question and...
Interviewer	(GG muttering) is it laziness? (GG – “Yes.”). Just to be able to sit and think out a nice proper sentence... it's not your Afrikaans... disturbing this... (GG – “No I doubt...”)
GG	sometimes, do you think you make some concord errors?
GG	Umm... I think so, I sometimes, sometimes like... a few times when with words... using Afrikaans sometimes I mix words and sentence, uh, sentence structure... and ja (Mutter).
Interviewer	Do you ever think in Afrikaans? (GG muttered something) In English?
GG	Umm... only when I go back to understand the word.
Interviewer	But if you sitting and you see a text, or, or you have to read the question... do, or you have to fashion a answer. Do you think in Afrikaans or in English?
GG	I think in English.
Interviewer	All the time? (Said as a statement)
GG	(Pause) Most of the time.
Interviewer	Do you read a question and then go – “Wat praat hulle hier? Ag, miskien vra hulle vir hierdie (GG – “Ja.”) of daie”
GG	No no.
Interviewer	Never? Never never. (GG muttering behind).
GG	No.
Interviewer	Okay, umm... thank you very much it was good (Emphasis on ‘Good’) I want to ask you (Emphasis on ‘you’) a question about... what did you learn today, from today's discussion and analysing your questions?
GG	(short muttering)
Interviewer	What did you learn?



GG	I learnt that... (Pause) My... how I thought I was doing in English, isn't actually as, well as I thought (mutter) I usually do.
Interviewer	Mm. Why?
GG	Because the laziness plays a big role in it, I'm not going to blame being Afrikaans. (INT – "Mm.") I think me being lazy but... Ja, mostly being lazy.
Interviewer	Now look at the questions and the way the answers... you know the way I showed you to arrive at the answers... what do you think was the biggest lesson you've learnt, when it comes to literature and... how to answer questions?
GG	To understand first, and to understand the context of it first.
Interviewer	Okay, you do notice that I kept asking you about the implied meaning... and indirect... information (GG – "Yes."). That, have you realized that English is never direct (GG – "No.") nothing is (GG – "No.") that writers heavily rely on indirect means on bring the message to the reader. What happens you think if you were not... able to... understand that aspect what would happen?
GG	I think I would do bad, obviously (INT – "Mm.") and, I wouldn't get the message... and... I wouldn't understand the context or the text and... (INT – "Absolutely.")
Interviewer	Thanks a million.
GG	You're welcome.
Interviewer	That was a very good interview.
GG	(Laugh)
Interviewer	It was the best interview today. And we're done. Thank you and Good luck for the exams.



## INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: HH

Interviewer	Good morning.
HH	Good morning ma'am.
Interviewer	How u doing?
HH	I'm alright.
Interviewer	Alright, define alright?
HH	Well I only woke up about 50 minutes ago, and ran to school so.
Interviewer	So u ran to school? Do you live near school?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Ok can you tell me a little about yourself?
HH	Well I'm Taiwanese is speak Mandarin at home and well the only place I speak English is at school.
Interviewer	And then, so umm so you speak Mandarin at home?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Tell me a little bit about your culture?
HH	Well my culture we culturally I'm Chinese, but politically I'm a capitalist Chinese because well during the 1940-50's the communist took over nationalist Taiwan umm china and drove nationalist to Taiwan so culture I'm Chinese.
Interviewer	So you were not born in the 1950's?
HH	No.
Interviewer	Why do you still subscribe to that?
HH	It's a umm I'm explaining the culture because ja so culturally I'm Chinese.
Interviewer	Tell me a little bit about your culture, your how do you learn how do you speak how do you communicate what do you do?
HH	Well It depends on individuals but at home well we put family on above everything others so we are, I'm generalising right now but usually or most of us we really res umm respect our parent we don't defy them or disrespect them or.
Interviewer	What about teachers?
HH	Same. Our superiors we respect.
Interviewer	Define respect- do you see a teacher as a superior?
HH	Yes. Any anyone who's older than us or teaches us things those are considered superiors.
Interviewer	So you would not challenge them and you would not be rude to them?
HH	Well only if they wrong.
Interviewer	What do you do if they wrong?
HH	I question them.
Interviewer	And how do you question them - or do you get upset?
HH	No I won't get upset, I'm usually umm like maybe ask them to view from a different angle maybe or like I'll ask them perhaps do you think it's like

	this.
Interviewer	Oh umm it's very interesting what you said. Now you are in a school where you get taught in English you are in the present of English speaking people what have you noticed about them that different from your culture?
HH	Well sometimes I talk to friends or something and they I hear them often umm well umm it's only these some people but I hear them kind of disrespecting their parents. Well in Asia it's not very common.
Interviewer	Ok what else, what about to teachers?
HH	Yes and also I find some of them rude to teachers and like putting their hands in their pockets not greeting them which is well disrespectfully.
Interviewer	Ok umm so let's talk about you in South Africa where were you born?
HH	In Pretoria.
Interviewer	You were born here, so you were not born in Taiwan?,
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	So it's interesting why call yourself Taiwanese
HH	Well because I was my parents are they taught me in a Asian manner.
Interviewer	So even though you were born in south Africa where they brought you up with Asian culture and principles?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	So do you still feel, feel like you south African or do you feel like you Taiwanese?
HH	Well I feel I'm more Taiwanese.
Interviewer	But why, having growing up here, you don't feel south African?
HH	Well because umm it's the way I act it's not very Western because all the morals and principals which is umm drilled it you by Asians like umm I follow those.
Interviewer	So by following you culture you don't feel part of the south African culture?
HH	Well not that I don't feel like I just feel more Asian.
Interviewer	How, ok have you ever been in the presence of Asians that belong to your culture but from Taiwan where they grew up, born, there educated, there have you been in their presence?
HH	Only in Taiwan when I was there.
Interviewer	When you went there. Do you feel that you different from them?
HH	Well not really but umm because there where raise there, there Mandarin is more advanced so I don't always understand what they trying to say but we act the same.
Interviewer	You act the same so you not different from them in any way?
HH	No.
Interviewer	You act the same you speak the same you have the same interests?
HH	Well interests that depends on that individuals.
Interviewer	Yes true. Ok but what about music and...
HH	I noticed right now that most Asian like to listen to Korean or Japanese

	pop; well personally I've never been in much interested in music.
Interviewer	When you go there you fit in immediately you don't stick out you don't feel like you don't belong there?
HH	No I don't.
Interviewer	Completely you immerse yourself completely like you just one of them.
HH	Well not exactly Sometimes they ask me questions like how it is there that just on a subconscious level makes me feel like as if I was an outsider or some sort.
Interviewer	Apart from that question you just feel part of them?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	Wow that is interesting so you were born here and umm you went to preschool here. Which preschool did you go to?
HH	Umm Heidi.
Interviewer	So you went to a Afrikaans preschool?
HH	No it's was English.
Interviewer	So uh uh when did you get introduced to English?
HH	Well preschool.
Interviewer	Preschool. Before that you never you never spoke English- before preschool?
HH	No.
Interviewer	At home?
HH	No I always spoke Mandarin.
Interviewer	Mandarin. And your parents never read you stories, fairytales, nursery rhymes?
HH	Asian ones
Interviewer	Asian ones?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Not English?
HH	No.
Interviewer	Ok,(jimmy interrupts "yes well well actually some of them are translated into Mandarin like jack and beanstalk umm and what's that one with the gingerbread house) ah (that one) Hansel and Gretel(ja ja yes that one)is that it(yes)now gingerbread man is different and Hansel and Gretel is the one with the house of candy and whatever. That book was translated and you read it in?
HH	No my parents read it, no my mom read it to me.
Interviewer	In Asian did you know it was a English book when she read it to you (yes well it says jack and) so she didn't give it a sort when it was translated it was given a English name and not Chinese names?
HH	Well they turned weird and like a Asian speaking English it sounded weird so like jack turned into jeko so.
Interviewer	So what was the story called?
HH	I don't remember.

Interviewer	So the story was an English story but translated into Asian but she read it in Mandarin?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	So you didn't know it was an English story?
HH	Well I could tell because that time the pictures said otherwise well there where pictures in the book (laugh uncontrollable) and that did not look very Asian.
Interviewer	So the story was in Mandarin and the pictures were of white people?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	That is strange. So then of course no English then.
HH	No
Interviewer	So umm nursery rhymes songs, nothing in English?
HH	I don't remember any nursery rhymes.
Interviewer	Ok when you went to preschool for the first time and your teacher spoke English how did you feel?
HH	Like an alien I suppose. (long pause)
Interviewer	How did you build up your (well) English?
HH	Well I had this Dutch friend which spoke English, I started learning English by talking to him and talking to others
Interviewer	Was he good?
HH	Well at that time he was to me.
Interviewer	But now?
HH	It was actually preschool
Interviewer	Ok, preschool right, do you watch English movies and listen to English music?
HH	Not music English movies yes
Interviewer	What type of movies?
HH	Well (War?) Lord of the rings (laugh)umm.
Interviewer	Can you identify with that type of literature?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	Do you still read Mandarin literature?
HH	No I can read Mandarin.
Interviewer	Not at all. You can speak it but can't read it.
HH	Umm only very little
Interviewer	Very little.
HH	Yes
Interviewer	So umm so the primary school you went a English primary school.
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Ok. So it was English all the time everything, instructions were in English and you coped fine
HH	Yes
Interviewer	So you coped fine. Then of course your high school was (the school) from

	grade 8 till now you are in matric. Umm how do u rate yourself in English as a speaker?
HH	Out of 10?
Interviewer	Umm well tell me, your competence as a speaker of English in an English medium school?
HH	Well, slightly above normal.
Interviewer	Above average.
HH	Average (laugh) as a speaker only but not in literature.
Interviewer	I'm going to ask you about that – what about your written language?
HH	I'm good in writing creative stuff but umm ja.
Interviewer	So you good in the creative writing aspect (yes) and your grammatical sentences are perfectly good.
HH	I can do those.
Interviewer	What about novels, literature?
HH	Well umm can you explain that?
Interviewer	How's your competence in that? That aspect- studying literature?
HH	In just normal reading?
Interviewer	Reading it understanding it interpreting it?
HH	Well in normal novels I can do that.
Interviewer	Explain normal novels?
HH	For example, a few books I read like was Harry Potter (those are reading for entertainment we talking about the literature that we do at school ) at school(hmm books like the Gatsby or Animal farm for example)well Animal farm was easy buy Gatsby was hard.
Interviewer	Ok, wa what would you say how would you rate your competence in studying it?
HH	5 out of 10(so then you average)ja.
Interviewer	Well what stops you from doing well, you an intelligent boy.
HH	Well it's the deeper understanding of things normally I just go and umm ask it or umm I don't go that deep into because when I read I read it as is I don't go deeper into what his trying to say.
Interviewer	Why, what stops you from going deeper into it?
HH	Because sometimes I go deeper into it and get it wrong so sometimes maybe it's the simpler answers.
Interviewer	Do you believe, ok let me ask you this question in the home language class we have native English speakers and you know people who know English really well how do you feel in the class, do you feel like an outsider do you feel a bit alien, do you feel comfortable?
HH	Yes I feel very comfortable.
Interviewer	You feel comfortable? Do you think it's because you were brought up here and you being with them all the time?
HH	I would say so.
Interviewer	Ok umm I want to ask you do you think in Mandarin or do you think in

	English?
HH	I count in Mandarin but think in English.
Interviewer	If you struggle with an English concept would you resort to think in Mandarin?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	And what happens?
HH	When that happens I usually I can find the Mandarin word for it.
Interviewer	So there are things in English you can find in Mandarin (yes and vice versa) and vice versa of course and was that problematic for you?
HH	Umm more well because sometimes the Mandarin understanding is not the same as the English understanding I'm not sure in what way but when I think maybe when I translate it into Mandarin I see how that sounds(umm) and ja(and do you ever get it right when you do that?) sometimes(laugh)
Interviewer	Do you get some right?
HH	Well I try to find the closest word.
Interviewer	Umm are there figures of speech in Mandarin?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	Give me an example?
HH	Well umm Some of them most of them.
Interviewer	Think of the English figures of speech hyperbole, ambiguity.
HH	Well there are some.
Interviewer	Give me an example just give me one example.
HH	Like there are similes like running as fast as a horse.
Interviewer	An ok alright and what else? Hyperbole, ambiguity, irony.
HH	Umm they have everything there.
Interviewer	Give me an example of irony?
HH	Well I have to sorry my mind is just kind of blank right now.
Interviewer	Ok growing up would your parents give you indirect instructions or when you speak to your siblings or has there ever been some verbal exchange between the two of you?
HH	No
Interviewer	So it's always a direct instruction?
HH	Ja
Interviewer	It's never implied, it's never indirect?
HH	No if they tell me what to do they tell me as it is, like.
Interviewer	In any other conversations that you have do you use verbal irony do you use indirect ways of communicating?
HH	No
Interviewer	Never
HH	No
Interviewer	So umm when you heard it in English were you able to understand?
HH	Yes

Interviewer	How, how is that?
HH	well because when I speak Mandarin and I speak English it's to me it two very different things.(ok)when I speak Mandarin I interpreted it directly (oh, ok)so umm if its English you have to see what's happening in the situation and try to figure out what's going on.
Interviewer	That's such an intelligent thing to say happening in the situation what do you mean?
HH	well for, well if there's sarcastic and in Mandarin they aren't really sarcastic they just tell you as it is whereas in English you have to look at the situation likes what's going on and you have to see if they actually trying to tell the truth or if they sarcastic.
Interviewer	ahh but, because writing replicates the spoken form do you find that's in the text as well?
HH	On a harder level yes on a harder level I guess.
Interviewer	On a more difficult level (yes) yes the reason why I'm asking you if you had any experience with it in your because if you think about some cultures that's part of a Childs umm language behaviour. So if you have not experienced it then it won't be part of your language behaviour. Is there any kind of special English references or context that umm that cofounds you when in the text?
HH	Umm can you me an example?
Interviewer	Umm maybe a political reference or a social reference?
HH	Well it usually depends on if I understand what they trying, where the they trying to say came from. for example if they were talking about the umm American politics(umm) it's probably it general knowledge so I can understand there's but if it's more not so wide spread then so times I get confused.
Interviewer	Ok, umm do you struggle with figures of speech?
HH	Identifying or using it?
Interviewer	Both tell me where your competences lie?
HH	Well I never use figures of speech but I can usually understand them.
Interviewer	Umm do you really understand them?
HH	Sometimes.
Interviewer	What part of it?
HH	Well.
Interviewer	When you say sometimes what do you mean because we going to look at your tests now. What do you usually just get or do you struggle with it or is it easy to access for you.
HH	Well I wouldn't say it's easy sometimes it's easy sometimes it's difficult because umm.
Interviewer	Which part is difficult because usually if you learn the similes and comparison between the two things you will be able to identify the simile?
HH	Yes well similes they are easy but for example hyperboles sometimes I

	just don't get it in the text.
Interviewer	Ok. Right let's look at your tests now I see that you got 1.2 wrong, did you get 1.2 wrong?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	But what is your answer jimmy?
HH	I said that Tom needed to see George so he can, so he told her to go to the lower level.
Interviewer	So there's a lower level on this train?
HH	Well according to the text.
Interviewer	let's look at the text, the text says uh we waited for her on the road and out of site mmm let's look, ok mmm I'm just looking for the reference umm do you have a copy, ok go look at this one right let's find the lower level go to the text. Oww I meet you by the new stand on the lower level, that's what you said.
HH	Yes
Interviewer	Now in your answer the lower level is one the train, so have you seen a double Decker train?
HH	Well they do exist.
Interviewer	True... where
HH	ok never mind(laugh)
Interviewer	Ok, no seriously no have you seen them?.
HH	Well I know they have food stores on trains in Asia.
Interviewer	Food stores?
HH	yes
Interviewer	I know there are trains that have compartments where you can sleep and have a dining car and all of that, there are trains that have that especially trains that go long distances, there are these type of trains.
HH	Well during this (mumble).
Interviewer	1920 would there have been what type of trains?
HH	Electricity I suppose.
Interviewer	Well yes, Imagine (popular teenage expression)
HH	Perhaps not but they had some weird things in that time.
Interviewer	But remember that we have to give our answers from the text, so are you aware of the train having two levels as in an upper level and a lower level because I'm asking because maybe you could educate me.
HH	no
Interviewer	so do you understand how you need to look at the text to answer and why you have to find out for yourself, why you have to research why, the lower level is not the train can you see how far you have to go can you see what talking about deep into the text means that you have to contextualise the situation, so if you thought you just wrote your answer but if you thought about it and said wait lower level can be the train you see what I mean, you have to look where the answer is. So umm your answer becomes so way out can



	you see that (umm). Now you look at ill meet you by the new stand by the lower level now I want you to look at that passage again and tell me where you think you should have found the answer because it's in there. The questions are why did they not sit on the train together? Where would you find the answer jimmy? Let me show you go to not quiet together for Mrs. Wilson sat discreetly in another car tom differed that much to the sensibilities of those east eggers that might be on the train. So why did they sit together, can you find the answer now?
HH	I can't find the text.
Interviewer	It's the first one page2 umm here (long pause), do you know what the answer is now?
HH	Well I think them in an office.
Interviewer	In an office. Tom differed that much to the sensibilities of those east eggers that might be on the train. Why did he not sit together? The answer is in those lines.
HH	What's an east egger?
Interviewer	a person from east egg, like a Pretoria, a Durbanite like that.(well)so you still can't get it, the answer is he did not want the people from east egg to be outraged by his elitist affair he implied that they would frond on his open affair of infidelity, so he just did not want them to know that he was having a affair or to brinish it in public, he says tom differed that much to the sensibilities of those, so you still couldn't access answer there.(no I couldn't)ok let's look at 1.3, 1.3 is figures of speech identify and explain the figure of speech what is your answer?
HH	Metaphor.
Interviewer	so the answer is simile the late afternoon sun bloomed in the window for a moment like the blue honey of the Mediterranean. that was a simple one to pick up(umm) ja can you see
HH	I didn't see the like.
Interviewer	So that's a lesson to be learnt what do you think you should do when you get a question like that?
HH	I think I should have read it a few more times.
Interviewer	Now can you see things like that can cost you mark in exams? Right the next one is 1.5 what is your answer for 1.5?
HH	She married him.
Interviewer	She married him that's your answer?
HH	Yes
Interviewer	and the question says "discuss the ambiguity in Myrtle's word well I married him for 3marks discusses the ambiguity and your answer is she married him
HH	Well the he could have been anyone I suppose.
Interviewer	That's the answer that we have to find out, who the him is, what is your understanding of ambiguity?

HH	Well it's not, it's not direct it could be a nether meaning or something.
Interviewer	So it's when there are two meanings?
HH	Well not exactly two meanings, well it's just when there's no direct answer it could befit could be this or it could be that depending on how you interpret it.
Interviewer	So there two meaning.
HH	Ok
Interviewer	Did you not know what ambiguity was, did you know what ambiguity was?
HH	I did.
Interviewer	Explain ambiguous?
HH	Well it's not something that is not, that could be one thing or another but umm.
Interviewer	ok let me tell you what ambiguous is, ambiguity- is there's a superficial surface meaning right but there's a deeper under line on a deeper meaning, now if you read it superficial you get the first one, it will not make sense to you or it would. The writher will use habituate meaning, he wants you to find out it's a technique right, what his actually saying, now let's look at what his saying. Mrs. Mc kay says I almost married a little kike, whose a Jew right and you know Jews are regarded as inferior but, so she thinks by not marring him she made a lucky escape. I knew he was below me can you see every one keep saying to me local that man's way below you, but if I hadn't married Chester he would have gotten me forswore. So who is Mrs. Mc kay married to?
HH	Chester.
Interviewer	Chester, then Mrs. Wil son says well I married him so when you read that who does it seem like she's married to?
HH	The Jew.
Interviewer	The Jew, but we know she's married to Mr. Wilson that's the superficial meaning now. we have to find out the word him is ambiguous ,we have to find out the like now, the first link was it looked, it papers as if the first meaning, it papers as if she's married to the Jew but she's actually married to Mr. will son that's the first meaning. what is the under lined meaning because now by saying making the word him ambiguous and making it seem like she's married to the Jew but she's acidly married to Mr. Wil son what is the implication of that?
HH	Well I think she's trying to hide herself.
Interviewer	ok she is implying that her husband is just like the Jew unworthy(ohhh) remember when she's says in the passage she says her husband is not fit to lick her boots, she keeps treating him badly in her opinion of him is quiet open of him in the novel, so umm we have to be able to get the implication of the by saying, by making it ambiguous, by making it seem as if she's married to the Jew she's telling us I'm not married to the Jew we know

	she's married to Mr. Wilson but what's the connection that her husband's a inferior person undeserving of her just like the Jew(mumble)
HH	Ja
Interviewer	But will you be able to look in context and arrive at an answer like that?
HH	normally no but it's like it looks so deep into it like when they said I'm married well I married him I just said ok she married him.
Interviewer	So you just look at the line? (Ja) so what will you next time for a question like this?
HH	Look at the whole context.
Interviewer	Ok very good so at least we worked out one problem. 1.8 does Catharine condone marital infidelity, what is your answer?
HH	No she said that Myrtle should get to get away from George and go to Tom (mumble).
Interviewer	So what you actually done are said no and give the answer for yes, that's what you done.
HH	Well.
Interviewer	Look at it again, look at your answer.
HH	Well I did not know what condone means.
Interviewer	well there you go, so then what happens when you look at a sentence or when you look at a question that has a word you don't understand, like the word condone like you did understand what condone, so you know what marital infidelity is?
HH	Well it's when the not faithful.
Interviewer	There you go, so you knew that but you didn't know what the word condone meant.
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	But your answer was mixed up in other words you said no, but gave the answer for yes. (Well) why you think that happened.
HH	Well condone sounds like, condemned so like.
Interviewer	Oh (emphasise on o sound) great so you looked for a word that sounds like condone.
HH	Yes
Interviewer	in order to access the answer, oh so know that you know condone means actually promoted then your answer would have been yes I know what would it be?
HH	It will be yes.
Interviewer	ok well we found something else now 2.2.1 explain the irony in the words, how do, if I told you the meaning of boot logger is someone who sells alcohol or makes alcohol that's a bootlegger would you be able to find the irony in that line?
HH	(Mumble long pause) no not really.
Interviewer	the answer is she accuses him of breaking the law by profiting through the sale of illegal alcohol, but she legally consumes his alcohol which is also

	against the law, remember the prohibition era, and so she is also committing a crime isn't that ironic, do you get it now?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	That's she's consuming alcohol which is against the law and she's accusing him of doing something illegal, so that's the irony. so let's look at question 2.2.2 how does the narrative reveal his content for the people that come to Gatsby's parties, do you get the word content, do you understand it?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Ok, what is your answer?
HH	So for which question again?
Interviewer	2.2.2. Is it yes 2.2.2?
HH	(long pause)I said the world and its mistress so I think that the party is full of unfaithful people and...
Interviewer	Let me explain what the "world and its mistress" means if I said umm everybody and their neighbour was there what am I implying?
HH	Well a lot people.
Interviewer	a lot of people, it's a world and its mistress means allot of people but when he uses the word mistress he is also trying to imply the type of people who came to Gatsby's parties, there were people that were sexually immoral so that's what the world and its mistress means. So umm why did, did you look at the word, you looked at word contempt and you looked at the fact that and you looked at the word mistress, didn't you. ok why did you not look at the line that says Gatsby's hospitalities gag sorry at I still read the name that starts there of those who accepted Gatsby's hospitality and played him the suckle tribute of knowing nothing what so ever about him, what is the author saying here, about those people that came to Gatsby's parties?
HH	Well (they accepted Gatsby's parties hospitality and played him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing what so ever about him.)Well they keep quiet about what his done.
Interviewer	Let's read it again those accepted Gatsby's parties hospitality and played him the suckle tribute of knowing nothing what so ever about him.
HH	They try to hide his secret.
Interviewer	Umm know if I came to your house and I ate your food and drank your wine and said you a bootlegger I didn't even know who you were, what type of person am I?
HH	bad(laugh)
Interviewer	Give me a better word for bad?
HH	Well.
Interviewer	now can you see why he was constitutes about him, at least they should have gotten to know him better because his the host, look at the hospitality , hospitality comes from the word host in other words his a good host but

	what did they do they were gossiping about him and they were eating his food and they didn't even know who he was, they don't even care to get to know him, so would you say he is right to be cantatas about these people, do you agree now that, that's where you can see where his contempt is coming up but it's not open, can you see the way he rights it, he needs you to find out what his trying to say.
HH	Well that's the problem with my English.
Interviewer	That's the problem with your English umm 3.1 explain how the narrator reveals that Gatsby is lying about his adventures abroad, what is your answer?
HH	I said he was sarcastic about Gatsby's story.
Interviewer	but you didn't explain, the question says explain how the narrator reveals that Gatsby is lying in other words he doesn't openly tell us, we need to find out, how he shows us, he doesn't tell us that he doesn't believe the story, he very stillly implies that he believes that Gatsby lied. The answer is the narrator mentions incredulous laughter do you know what incredulous laughter is?
HH	umm no.
Interviewer	ok it means sceptical disbelieving dubious when he says incredulous laughter so if anybody laughs incredulous it means disbelieving like that can't be true(ha ha ha)see and then he says he mentions saw dust, saw dust sapping, now sawdust has no substance you know that, if a person is made of sawdust they got no substance, so just as his filled with sawdust the story does not have any substance at all, also we look, so it could have been any of these things and he says the Frasier's are worn tread bearer do you understand what that means Frasier's are worn tread bearer?
HH	no.
Interviewer	It means something is told so many times its lost its value it's lost its effect, now thread bare, if you walking on the carpet and it loses its fabric gets worn out, that's what tread bare means. Did you know that?
HH	No
Interviewer	ok, so you see these are the type of expressions that are English expressions worn thread bare means there's nothing left means it's been worn out basically its worn out of thread bare but it come from something that's been used and used like a carpet you find it being worn out all the treads are gone so he is saying his told the story so many times in the same way it's so reversed he does not change it that the story is now lost its value.(laugh)have you never heard the word kike before?
HH	no.
Interviewer	Never?
HH	Wait a kike?
Interviewer	A kike.
HH	May once or twice but I never knew what I means.

Interviewer	But you didn't know what it means?
HH	no.
Interviewer	Oh but where have you read it or heard it, or have you read it?
HH	Well, yes.
Interviewer	ok so now that wave be through this test and as you can see the questions that you got wrong were they the questions that carry the most marks, were they the questions that, the one you struggle with, what type of questions are they generally?
HH	What kind of questions?
Interviewer	Ja, we went through the ones that you got wrong, the ones I was even showing you still struggled to get, what type of questions are they?
HH	Well thus that you have to go to a deeper meaning, ones were you have to read the whole text to understand.
Interviewer	Can you tell me what's blocking your access to the meaning to those sentences, what ...?
HH	Probably if I just read it as it is I won't think of it too much because when you read umm some of the thread bay thing I just did understand umm.
Interviewer	So English expressions and phrases that you familiar with?
HH	Yes.
Interviewer	Because there were quite a bit, few things we went through that you were not familiar with, you found it difficult. My concern is you were born in South Africa, English is predominantly spoken even though we have so many languages it's the language of teaching and learning and you still struggle to understand it.
HH	Well because I don't use it.
Interviewer	Have you noticed that your vocabulary is also impeding your answering?
HH	Yes?
Interviewer	Quite a few words ... that you were not familiar with. What do you do when that happens?
HH	Well I just find the closest word to it.
Interviewer	Closest word to it.
HH	Yes
Interviewer	In English or Mandarin?
HH	English.
Interviewer	Right did you learn something today Jimmy?
HH	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	What have you learnt?
HH	To look, try to dive into the question more and read the whole text more.
Interviewer	Right thank you very much jimmy I appreciate it allot and I hope your literature marks will be better.
HH	Thank you ma'am.

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: II**

Interviewer	Good Afternoon
II	Hi ma'am
Interviewer	How you doing?
II	I'm fine thanks, and you?
Interviewer	I'm good. Are you nervous?
II	Yes! I don't know, I've never done this before.
Interviewer	Okay. So we're going to start. Are you ready for your first question?
II	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Okay. I want you to tell me a little bit about your cultural background.
II	Uhm, well I'm Sepedi. Uhm, so well I, I grew up in Pretoria. I didn't grow in the Sepedi areas. So, uhm, my, my culture uhm. Since, since I'm Sepedi, uhm, I'm more towards a Tshwana, uhm, cultural you know, thing, uhm. I didn't, my, my family went, well they were raised up in the Sepedi way but then they decided to raise us in the Tshwana way, whereby you can communicate with anyone.
Interviewer	Okay. And what language do you speak at home?
II	Uhm I speak mostly Sotho ko hae. Yes at home.
Interviewer	So you're Sepedi and then there's Tshwana and then you speak Sotho.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	At home.
II	Yes
Interviewer	With your family?
II	Yes with my family.
Interviewer	Where do you live?
II	Uhm, I live in Rietvlei Country Estate.
Interviewer	And?
II	Uhm, but I was born in Sosha, Soshanguve.
Interviewer	Alright...
II	Yes so uhm I lived there for a while. And then we moved up to Pretoria. Well we moved back to Sunnyside and then we moved to Faerie Glen and then now we at Rietvlei Country Estate.
Interviewer	And how, how is it different? You know, think about Soshanguve, is a township?
II	Yes
Interviewer	Yes. And then now you live in a suburb...
II	Uhm...
Interviewer	How's it different?
II	Well (pauses) we're a very wealthy family...
Interviewer	Mmm
II	So, my grandparents, well ya uhm taught me that I mustn't just expect every, I mustn't expect to receive everything on a silver platter. So I grew up more Kasi than suburbs.
Interviewer	Okay. Explain Kasi.

II	Uhm, Kasi is just, no a, a normal person. Doesn't really care much about money but (short pause) you know if someone offers you money then you gonna (incoherent speech). If your parents offer you money you gonna take it. And then I, I grew up like that and then you know, I just kinda stopped at that style like I, I have, I didn't feel for money that much because I don't have it. I don't have, I'll wait to get it. Whereby the uhm suburbs side, all you need is money. Every you need money everywhere.
Interviewer	But besides the money, the culture of the suburbs
II	Yeah
Interviewer	and the culture of...
II	Yeah
Interviewer	The Kasi
II	Kasi children are more. We're more playful and more louder than suburban children. Suburban children are very quiet and...maybe like, well I am lady like but (laughs) I'm very loud person and then, ya.
Interviewer	So how do the people, how do white people perceive you when you loud and laugh and you...
II	As a...
Interviewer	Speak loudly?
II	As a crazy person though.
Interviewer	What do they think?
II	Uhm, well I have...I, I, I grew up around white people. Well I had white friends and (incoherent word) so, I was able to, to communicate and I knew how to deal with white people and I knew how to be friendly with them. And then they, they have a positive reaction to me sometimes.
Interviewer	Okay. How much do you, how much English do you speak?
II	Uhm, not. Well I speak English at school and then, ya.
Interviewer	That's it?
II	Ya.
Interviewer	In the class? On the playground?
II	Uhm, sometimes I speak English in English class. And then most of the time I'm speaking Sotho, unless I'm around friends that don't understand Sotho and then I still speak English.
Interviewer	Okay, but you speak English well. You're a good oral communicator. How did that come about?
II	Uhm I don't know. I really don't know, uhm (pauses) I don't know.(laughs)
Interviewer	So you don't speak English at home. Not with your family?
II	No uhm, since I, I grew up Kasi way, I'm more of speaking Sotho all the time. And then whereby my brothers grew up in the suburbs, they, speak English a lot. So I, I speak to them uhm, ka Sotho, and then they apply in English.
Interviewer	What is...so then your, your little brothers grew up in the suburbs, and they speak English all the time.
II	Yes
Interviewer	Would you say they do better at English than you do?
II	Uhm...



Interviewer	Competency wise, are they more competent?
II	Uhm...
Interviewer	In their tests and exams do they get a better mark than you do?
II	Ya they get uhm, well one is eight years old. So he goes to Cornwall Hill so uhm, he gets higher marks...than, ya I get right now.
Interviewer	But you can't compare your matric mark with a grade eight...
II	Ya I can't...
Interviewer	You just say...At what grade? At what grade is he?
II	He's in grade three.
Interviewer	Grade three. At grade three level and look at how you performed at grade three level, is it the same?
II	No it's not. It's quite different.
Interviewer	What do you think the reason for that is?
II	I don't know, uhm. I went to English schools, so my grade three mark would be higher.
Interviewer	Mmm
II	Ya
Interviewer	Your mark was higher than his?
II	Ya. I got eighties and nineties and he's getting seventies and...
Interviewer	In, In grade three?
II	Ya
Interviewer	And then what happened after that?
II	I don't know, I think uhm...I have this thing. I think, I'm, I'm more..., if, if I'm more interested in studying then I'm going to get great results. And then when it comes to English it's that thing ya ore, yes you do have to study for English but some of the things are common sense. What brought my marks down was poetry. Uhm, I would look at the poem and then I would uhm, obviously see the poem in different aspects.
Interviewer	Mmhm
II	And then, you know...ya
Interviewer	You have to tell me. I don't know.
II	(laughs)
Interviewer	Act as if I don't know anything. Tell me everything.
II	Uhm, with poetry I, I, I kinda do struggle.
Interviewer	Okay, but I need to speak, because now we not doing poetry...
II	Oh ya, okay
Interviewer	So I need you to focus on how you access the novel. Because you've done Animal Farm this year as well...
II	Ya
Interviewer	...And where you able to get the...
II	Uhm at the end I got the, the marks for Animal Farm. In the beginning uhm I didn't really get the marks, I got like half the marks. And I knew the story but I was unable to express it in the way that I'm not telling the story.
Interviewer	Mmm...

II	So I think that's where I, I also lose marks. Of course my Othello essay, that I was telling more of the story and that's where I lost my marks.
Interviewer	But what about contextual...
II	(interrupts) Contextual...
Interviewer	Contextual essay
II	Contextual questions, uhm, well it depends. If, if it's Shakespeare questions like uhm Othello, I, I struggle a lot because of the language and how they spoke back then.
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	Most words don't, uhm, I take time to actually register the words. As whereby in modern English I would register it...
Interviewer	But what about the novel?
II	Oh(laughs)
Interviewer	(laughs)
II	Uhm, the, the novel I, I could pick up questions whereby I answered properly and then some of the questions I didn't answer...
Interviewer	What type of questions that you can't answer?
II	Uhm more of the...like when they ask simple questions as in, like questions that are there. When it's more, when part speech comes in and the metaphor and everything like that...
Interviewer	What you talking about figures of speech?
II	Ya, sorry uhm...
Interviewer	(chuckles)
II	I'm nervous, sorry...
Interviewer	Are you sure? Figures of speech is metaphor and stuff like that..
II	Ya and then parts of speech is pronouns and adverbs...
Interviewer	Yes
II	Uhm... when it's uhm figures of speech. When uhm figures o speech is asked, most of the time I can get them. But then, most of the time you'd say a metaphor, but then when you have to explain it's quite, it takes time for me to get what I want to say.
Interviewer	Okay
II	On to the paper.
Interviewer	Okay. Uhhmm. Can you tell me about the foundation of the English Language competence. In other words did your parents read you fairy stories, fairy tales or children's literature? Did you have access to books when you were little?
II	Uhm..
Interviewer	English...
II	Yes, yes. When I moved to uhm Sunnyside I was put in a Afrikaans pre-school but then, uhm, when I went to primary school, it was a English primary school so...
Interviewer	So wait, let's start with, with uh you were in Soshanguve. What happened there?
II	Uh I was in a Tshwana school.
Interviewer	Tshwana school just only taught in Tshwana.
II	Yeah, they...
Interviewer	Every instruction was Tshwana.

II	Yes it was.
Interviewer	Oh okay...
II	And then uh, when I moved to Sunnyside I went straight into Afrikaans.
Interviewer	So you went from Tshwana to Afrikaans?
II	Ya...
Interviewer	Okay..
II	Afrikaans. Ya so from Afrikaans then I went to English.(incoherent speech)
Interviewer	And what to you in the meantime going from language to language?
II	Uhm, well as...Afrikaans I can understand and, everything like that. But, with Tshwana. Well Tshwana I do understand. I understand it more but as I moved from Tshwana to Afrikaans to English, I quite forgot my roots with Tshwana and everything like that.
Interviewer	Mmm...what impact it had on your English? Learning, acquiring English? Because you said the first time that you did English was in a primary school.
II	Yes, when I was seven.
Interviewer	Seven.
II	Ya
Interviewer	It was the first time you were instructed in English.
II	Not, ya ya ya. On a everyday basis.
Interviewer	Yes.
II	Was in grade seven, I mean ya when I was seven years old.
Interviewer	And how did you cope with that?
II	Uhm, I coped quite well. 'cos I can adapt to different things so when it came to English, I quite, I coped quite well.
Interviewer	Mm, so you think... remember I'm speaking about the foundation of your English and how it was built to where you are now.
II	Oh okay...
Interviewer	Because we want to find out uhm, for example why you can't answer certain questions...
II	Yeah
Interviewer	...and things like that. So that's what we're trying to find out. Where the problem lies. So if you tell me, for example that you cope very well all the way then I want to know why now in matric...
II	I think...
Interviewer	You having...
II	I, I coped well. Well in my primary school years we didn't do any Shakespearian novels or uhm poems or anything like that. So, uhm...
Interviewer	Did you read stories?
II	Yes
Interviewer	(incoherent speech)Did you have English story book?
II	Uhm, we were prescribed story books from the uhm, school uh. Made to read story books every single day. So I think the, the reading...
Interviewer	Ya
II	Uhm, was more helpful...

Interviewer	Ya
II	Back then 'cause I did it constantly, every single day I would read to my mother, every single day I would read to my teachers at school every single day. So there I was always just busy with English...
Interviewer	Mmmhm
II	English, English, English. And as I grew, it gets quite difficult being, uhm, you know, busy with just one thing. Back then it was only English.
Interviewer	Mmm
II	'Cause I could adapt to my...'cause there was English you could adapt to the other subjects...
Interviewer	Mmm
II	So if I knew English in and out, and I understood and everything like that back then, I would be able to do what I was supposed to do in other subjects. And perform well in those subjects.
Interviewer	And in high school, what happened?
II	Uhm, in, well, in, in high school it, it gets quite difficult 'cause now you cannot just focus on one, uhm subject. You have to focus on all your subjects. You know, so as I focused on my other subjects, uhm, reading became an uhm, occasional thing. I would maybe read a magazine or read a book on a weekend or something like that. And then also watching TV a lot. Watching uhm, American shows also. I, I kinda uhm adapted the style of their English instead of our English. And...
Interviewer	(interjects) How? Where? How did you do that?
II	Uhm, by watching a lot of American movies and reading American English.
Interviewer	How did you adapt American English?
II	Uhm...
Interviewer	You speaking now, you speaking South African English.
II	(giggles)
Interviewer	You write, you write South African English.
II	And I like South African music. I didn't quite understand, uhm, the differences in most of the things we say and the ya, the English they speak. So...
Interviewer	What would you say your language competency is in English that this point in time?
II	(whispers) South African?
Interviewer	No, competency
II	Oh sorry uh
Interviewer	Competency. What competency would you say you are in English?
II	(pauses) I'm about, if I would rate it percenting wise...
Interviewer	Let's look at... think about the marks and, that you get in class.
II	Right now I'm not performing quite well. So it's, it's not a...(pauses). Ya...how do I even say this? Uhm (giggles), uhm...
Interviewer	Is it a good mark?
II	No.
Interviewer	And you think it's only because you don't...study English or you don't...
II	Yes...
Interviewer	Focus on English...
II	Yes...

Interviewer	That's why...
II	(interjects) Ya...
Interviewer	You don't think that there's any other problem?
II	I think that's it and how I interpret things at times.
Interviewer	How you interpret things?
II	Yes like poems and stuff.
Interviewer	You say poems. So it's only poems that you have a...
II	Ya
Interviewer	... problem interpreting?
II	Ya. And sometimes comprehension. I think uhm, you, I, I, I read something and then...
Interviewer	I want you to look at the mark that you got for this, uh, test, the literature test. Did you do well?
II	Uh, no.
Interviewer	No, so but you still want to say, but you still think it's only in poetry that you have a problem.
II	It, it's, it's more poetry and comprehension...wise.
Interviewer	Right uuhhmmm, so then there's a talking about your understanding of literature. Can you, can you just go on about that?
II	Mmhm.
Interviewer	mmm...
II	Uhm, I, I sometimes, like, like I said before uhm answering the questions I interpret it in a different way...
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	And then, uh, ya, I, I, I don't know how to... I'm, I'm not strong on answering questions.
Interviewer	Okay. Can I ask you another question? And that is what aspects of native English culture and habits do you know? Social habits or anything about native English speakers.
II	Social habits?
Interviewer	Ya. Do you know anything about that?
II	Not, not much. No.
Interviewer	Do you have native English speakers as friends?
II	Uhm, ya I do.
Interviewer	Do you go to their homes?
II	Uhm, I, I used to when I was young.
Interviewer	mmm... but not anymore?
II	Ya 'cause we moved.
Interviewer	Okay, ya. So, uh have you noticed, perhaps, the way native English speakers communicate? Do they always use the direct method or do they sometimes use an indirect method of speaking?
II	I think they use more of a in, indirect...
Interviewer	Indirect?
II	Ya, indirect...

Interviewer	Why? How?
II	Uhm...
Interviewer	Give me an example.
II	They're not. Like I a, uhm, when, when like let's say something is bothering them...
Interviewer	Ya
II	Or a person is, is bothering them. They wouldn't go straight to you and tell you to your face like if a black person would. You know...
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	Black people would go straight to you and confront you and...
Interviewer	Mmm, okay.
II	Uhm, native uhm, English people wouldn't do that. They would just give you hints in a way and tell their friends, that this is happening and that this is happening. And then...(incoherent speech)
Interviewer	(interjects) What type of hints would they give you if they speak to you?
II	Uhm, just like uhm...like no, like they, let's, let's say when you like talking to a person. When, when I greet you like, with a friendly manner you can like ya. You know you'll, your hello to me would be like, it's like ya whatever.
Interviewer	But do they actually use language sometimes to tell you things indirectly? Have you experienced that?
II	No I haven't.
Interviewer	You haven't.
II	No I haven't.
Interviewer	So...
II	(interjects) I don't think I've had...serious problems with the native English people. No I haven't.
Interviewer	Okay but did you use verbal irony?
II	Mmmhm(no). I haven't.
Interviewer	So people have never said to you, something like 'Agh, you're such an Einstein' ?
II	No..
Interviewer	When you get a bad mark or say something silly?
II	No, uhm. That, that would usually happen in class towards other peers. Someone hasn't said it to me. You know, ya. Like uhm...
Interviewer	So when I'm speaking about your experience I'm not saying to you. But you've heard them...
II	Oh yes I have...
Interviewer	.... speak amongst each other...
II	Yes, amongst each other.
Interviewer	Or maybe...but in your culture is there indirect ways of saying things?
II	There is but we usually don't.
Interviewer	Why?
II	I don't know. It's, it's more of a 'you did something wrong, you, you should be aware of what you did.'
Interviewer	So growing up when your parents instructed you, did they always give you clear instructions or did they use implied meaning.

II	My parents would use clear instructions.
Interviewer	But in your community, do you know whether...
II	(incoherent speech) My, my , my parents used uh clear instructions. But my grandparents and my other family members don't use clear instructions.
Interviewer	What would they do?
II	They'd be like, uhm, oh ya so, this and this needs to be done, and stuff like that. And then you would offer and say 'oh no, I'll do this for you.'
Interviewer	No that's different, that's different. uhm(pauses). You know when they instruct a child, sometimes people would say it in a different way and the child would have to work out 'okay, that's what I need to do'.
II	Oh, that, that hasn't happened to me.
Interviewer	Okay. Uhhmmm, movies and music?
II	Uhm, I watch more American movies.
Interviewer	Mmmkay...
II	And, uhm I don't watch, well not that I don't watch South African movies, I just don't watch them more as I watch American movies.
Interviewer	Okay. So we've spoken about your, uhm, (incomprehensible word) and all of that. And we know what happened. How would you rate your confidence level in spoken English?
II	Uhm, it isn't that bad but it, it, it's not great.
Interviewer	Okay, written English?
II	Uhm (giggles) Exactly the opposite. It, it's...I need help with that.
Interviewer	Okay...and literature.
II	(softly says) I need help with literature too.
Interviewer	Why?!
II	Uhm, I'm more of a facts person. So when, uhm, answers are asked and you need to elaborate more, I, uhm, put down one point and then I elaborate that one point in that one point form.
Interviewer	You think it's more like elaborate, or to interpret? (pauses) Do you know the difference between elaborate and interpret?
II	(Stutters) Elaborate is more of explaining.
Interviewer	Ya
II	Your...kay let's say stating someone, something. And then uhm, you'd say 'Please elaborate that' like, 'Please explain that to me.' And then interpret is just your interpretation, like what you think about it.
Interviewer	Okay so what about when you're asked to interpret the author's intention. Or the author's attitude to a story or to a situation. How do you deal with that?
II	Uhm, I would obviously read the...
Interviewer	(interjects) Do you find that's easy to access?...
II	No
Interviewer	...or do you struggle?
II	No I, I struggle with that.
Interviewer	Why?
II	Uhm, I don't know, usually my, MY interpretations toward, to what I think the author is interpreting, is well, ya, is interpreting , is quite different.

Interviewer	Okay. How did you find the Gatsby text? Because you said you like American English...
II	Ya
Interviewer	I mean, and all of that. And, and still, uh, you, then should have been able to find some kind of...if you watch the movies...
II	Uhm, the, the Gatsby one, uhm, my friend told me about the story before. Like she just told me the main aspects of the story. So when, when I read it and I went into this test, I, I looked at the bigger picture of the story. I didn't look at the context properly and read it.
Interviewer	You know the meaning of contextual text? That means you answer...you know what contextual is...
II	Ya
Interviewer	Do you know what contextual means?
II	Ya.
Interviewer	What does it mean?
II	Contextual? Uhm...
Interviewer	What?
II	Like,(pauses)(stutters)(incomprehensible speech) uhm(pauses). I don't have words. I don't know how to say it in like English. But I know how to say it on Sotho.
Interviewer	How would you say it Sotho?
II	Uhm, nkabe ke di, ke ding, ke di thlogo tsa (recording stops-end of part 1)
Interviewer	Why do you think your English is not where it's supposed to be seeing that you've had exposure to English from primary school to high school?
II	Uhm(pauses) well I think, uhm, with a person that only adapted to English a few years ago to someone like me, whereby I grew up... I think, uhm, us black people have a problem with English because we were brought up in a, in our culture. In like a Tshwana way where, uhm, wherever we went we spoke Tshwana. We didn't speak English. 'cause some people say, ore no English ke, uhm, imma say it in Tshwana and then I'll like, translate.
Interviewer	Okay
II	Ke, uhm, limi la magkoa. Okay uhm, limi la mabudu. You know. So what that means ke gore, English is not, uhm, our tongue. Our tongue ke Tshwana or it's Sepedi or it's Zulu. So we gonna bring our children(incomprehensible speech). We gonna, uhm, teach our children our culture and not the white culture. Uhm, also because they, they have a different, uhm, opinion towards, like no, uhm, white people, uhm, grew up like this...
Interviewer	mmm...
II	So that's why they live the way they are right now. And then black people grew up like this and that's why we are... because if, with, with a black person teaching them, uhm, English, is gonna be harder than teaching a white person.
Interviewer	Why? Oh, why?
II	Because a white person grew up, okay not, not like in Afrikaans like a white, an, an English person grew up speaking English every single day to their parents and...
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	...they went to English(incomprehensible speech). And they, uhm, their parents read them novels and kiddies' stories and everything like that...



Interviewer	Mmm...
II	Where, uhm, black children, when we were young, we were let out to go play and we didn't really, we just, playing, playing, playing until we got to pre-school.
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	And then also, uhm, (stutters) it's also on which pre-school you went to. Some pre-schools you were taught in Sotho, you were taught, uhm, everything in Sotho, there's everything ka Sotho. You didn't reply in English, you didn't say anything... and then uhm, with white people, there's, there's, there's, there's stories and everything like that. (end of recording-part 2) oh uhm, no, I was just saying it's, it's, it's, it's harder to teach a black person English than a white person. We grew up being taught our culture. And then, white people grew up, you know, being taught their culture. So, uhm, it's quite easier to tell, I mean to teach, sorry to teach a white person English to a black person.
Interviewer	How has not being taught in English affected you, you think?
II	Uhm, (pauses), it hasn't really affected me. 'cause I mean, I, I was taught my culture and then I was taught English from seven years old.
Interviewer	Do you know anybody in your community that goes to perhaps a township school?
II	Yes, I have friends and cousins that go to the...
Interviewer	And how do they cope there?
II	With English, they, they don't speak English. Whatsoever they don't speak English. Uhm, they, they, they speak more Sotho, Tshwana, Xhosa than they would English.
Interviewer	Mmm...And how is the performance in English?
II	Uhm...they just, you know, not, not, not, not that well. Not that well.
Interviewer	Explain 'not that well'
II	Uhm, they would get like eighties and nineties for Tshwana and all their other subjects. But then English they would get like a forty and fifty.
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	Ya. But mostly forties.
Interviewer	Okay. So, uhm, do you... how has coming to a model C school, and being taught by native English speakers, you think made your English or, or, or competency better than theirs. How's it helped you?
II	Uhm, because all my work is in English. And everything is in English and then, them, their work is in Tshwana, besides English. (speech in the background). Their work is Tshwana besides English. So they are reading, like they, they doing maths ka seTshwana. And they doing biology or obviously the terminology, so uhm, they doing it... is like Afrikaans schools. Afrikaans schools are taught in Afrikaans and Tshwana schools are taught in Tshwana.
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	So everything they do is Tshwana, besides English.
Interviewer	Okay. Right now we going to look at your test. Okay, I want you to look at question 1.2. I noticed, I want you to read the answer.
II	I said mrs.Williams did not want the husband finding out about the affair she's having with Tom (incomprehensible speech).
Interviewer	Why did you use 'his'?
II	I don't know.

Interviewer	Who are you referring to when you say 'his'?
II	No, I'm, I'm, I meant, I meant to say 'her' instead of 'his'.
Interviewer	So it was just a mistake?
II	Yes, yes...
Interviewer	You don't usually make a mistake like that?
II	No.
Interviewer	Okay the answer is he did not want the wealthy people or the people from East Egg to be outraged by his illicit affair. He's implied that they would frown on his open display of infidelity. Let's go to the text quickly. The text, says, (shuffles papers) You shouldn't shuffle the paper to loudly you could pick it up. It says, uhm, (long pause)
II	(incomprehensible speech)
Interviewer	Yes. 'I went up to' uhm, 'so Tom Buchanan and his girl and I went up together to New York, or not quite together. For Mrs. Wilson sat discreetly in another car. Tom differed that much to the sensibilities of those East Eggers who might be on the train.' That's where the answer was.
II	Okay
Interviewer	So if that is where the answer was, where did you get your answer that she didn't want Mr. Wilson to know?
II	The line about where, uhm,(long silence)
Interviewer	Carry on.
II	Oh ma'am, uhm, I read it from, uhm, 'it does no good to get away, it doesn't' and then he said 'doesn't her objective' I mean sorry, 'doesn't her husband object?' And then it said 'will thinks' uhm, 'he thinks she goes to see her sister in New York. He's so dumb he doesn't know he's a lie.' So from that I got my answer as in, because it says that he thinks she's going to visit(incomprehensible speech) in New York. So I think someone would obviously(long pause)
Interviewer	Yes?
II	Uhm, I think(long pause)
Interviewer	Mmm?
II	I think a, a (pauses)
Interviewer	Carry on.
II	Uhm, I think if a person's having an affair they're gonna tell their loved one.
Interviewer	But you see. But you cannot actually think...
II	Ya
Interviewer	Because this is a contextual question. You have to find the answer in the text. So would you say one of your problems here is that you think?
II	Ya.
Interviewer	So you forcing your own beliefs, would you say into the, the context?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	When the...what they're asking of you is look for the answer in the text. So you would ass, you are assuming that because she's having an affair, she has to hide from her husband.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	And, and that's why. But yet the question is asking you to look at the text and even

	tells you, uh, in the text, it says, (pauses) he 'differed that much to the sensibilities of those' so he says that... the text is saying that they didn't sit together. Then the text tells you why they didn't sit together. But you didn't look at that, you looking at an answer somewhere else. Can you see how you would make a mistake there?
II	Mmm...
Interviewer	So would you say, what would you say is your biggest mistake here then?
II	Uhm, I don't use, I don't read the whole uhm, the whole con, well I don't read the whole uhm, whole explanation of everything.
Interviewer	Yes
II	I just. I, I read it half and then I say okay well this means it's a possible answer. I don't interpret the other half.
Interviewer	Okay
II	Well I don't read the other half.
Interviewer	If a, if a question is specific to the text, do you think one should put our own spin on things, and beliefs or whatever?
II	Uhm, I don't think we should do that. But I do that and uhm, I don't know why I do that.
Interviewer	You don't know why?
II	Ya.
Interviewer	Okay. Good. Right let's look at the next question. Now 1.3. And I found this a bit strange that you didn't get this one. 'Identify and explain the figure of speech in line 19.' The answer is simile. Let's look at line 19. Line 19 says 'the late afternoon sky bloomed in the window for a moment, like the blue honey of the Mediterranean'
II	(incomprehensible speech)
Interviewer	What is the figure of speech?
II	It's Simile.
Interviewer	But you said metaphor.
II	Ya
Interviewer	But is it clear to you now that, that it's a simile.
II	Mmm...
Interviewer	Why? How do you know that it's a simile?
II	Uhm, with simile, it's uhm, you can either, uhm, you can identify a simile with, it has words like 'like' and 'as'.
Interviewer	Why do you think you didn't get this one?
II	I don't know.
Interviewer	Okay. Right. And then would you have been able to get what's being compared? Because, in a simile something is being compared.
II	(long pause) well, reading this I would say that uh, this, well, the late sky is being compared to a blue honey in the (incomprehensible speech).
Interviewer	(pauses) Okay. Right. Let's look at 1.5. Now this is the question that everybody got wrong. It is a question that you needed to look at very, very closely. Let's look at the question. 'Discuss the ambiguity in myrtles words 'well. I married him'. Uhm, What did you do there? First of all did you understand ambiguity?
II	I would say, uhm, it means just like, 'I don't care' like that 'I don't care thing.
Interviewer	Okay. So we need to look at the word 'ambiguity'. Ambiguity means the sentence

	is, it has two meanings. It's not obvious to the reader. You can look at it one way and then, actually...
II	Another...
Interviewer	Another way. So officially it could mean one thing, but what she actually is implying is something else. That's what 'ambiguity' means. So if you look at this. Now that you know what ambiguous means, how would you reference this question? What would you look at?
II	I would look at how, uhm, her lifestyle and then I would look into mr.Wilson's lifestyle as she said 'well, I married him'.
Interviewer	Okay, and then?
II	Uhm, because she uhm, remembering the text, uhm she just said, well, she married someone she thought she was marrying, but she was actually marrying someone opposite to what she thought.
Interviewer	Okay.
II	So she was just saying 'well I married him. She thought that she could turn him into. Well obviously she married him, thinking that he's like that. But when, uhm he turned out not to be, she tried turning him into being the person she wanted him to be.
Interviewer	Okay let's look at the text. It says (pauses) 'Mrs. McKey called me back into the room. I almost married a little Kike.' Do we know what the meaning of Kike is?
II	Mmm I said Kike is just someone that...
Interviewer	Okay, but do you now know what a Kike is?
II	Ya
Interviewer	What is it?
II	Ma'am well I said that Kike is someone uhm, that like isn't wealthy.
Interviewer	Okay, a Kike is a racial term for a Jew. Right.
II	Oh okay.
Interviewer	A Jew. And at that time, in America, Jews were regarded as inferior. So it's definitely beneath these people.
II	Ya.
Interviewer	Almost on the same, as negroes. So, they were regarded as inferior. Now she says 'I almost married a little Kike, who had been after me for years. I knew he was below me. Everybody kept saying to me "Lucille that man's waaay below you". And if I hadn't married Chester, he would've gotten me for sure.' Did she marry the Kike?
II	No.
Interviewer	Well excuse my language. But did she marry the Jew?
II	No.
Interviewer	No.(pauses). But then myrtle says 'I married him.' So from what myrtle is saying who is she saying she married?
II	The Kike.
Interviewer	The Kike. Let's say the Jew.
II	The Jew.
Interviewer	Right. So according to this 'while I married him' means she married the Jew.
II	Yes.

Interviewer	Did she ever marry him? Who is she married to? Who is myrtle married to?
II	Jew?
Interviewer	She's married to Mr. Wilson.
II	Oh. OH! Sorry I didn't see the...
Interviewer	Ya but you knew that because you mentioned that just now that she was married to Mr. Wilson. Right? So she, we know that, she's married to Mr. Wilson. Now we have a problem of understanding who the 'him' is. Because we know, when she says 'I married him', it looks like, superficially that she's married to the Jew. Because of what they were talking about. But we know that she married Mr. Wilson. So now we wonder, what is the ambiguity in the sentence. We look at the fact that she's not physically married to Mr. Wilson, I'm sorry, to the Jew...
II	But she's married to someone like him.
Interviewer	There we go. Now that is the, ability you need to answer a question like this.
II	(softly) okay.
Interviewer	You ask why? Why is she, you know she's married to Mr. Wilson, how could she be married. Then we ask what is the underlining meaning, behind that. And she arrived at the answer.
II	But she married someone that is like the person.
Interviewer	Inferior. Like him.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	Right. Now we look at 1.6. You got that wrong as well. The answer for 1.6 is 'Hyperbole'. What did you get?
II	Uhm, I said metaphor.
Interviewer	Right. It's a hyperbole. Let's look at what she said. She said she'd beat the band, all afternoon'. You don't think that's a form of exaggeration? When a person says 'I can't beat the band all afternoon'? is she exaggerating?
II	She is.
Interviewer	Can a person actually try to beat a band?
II	Mhm, no.
Interviewer	And all afternoon crying at that level. So then? What do we realise the figure of speech is?
II	Ya.
Interviewer	What is it?
II	Hyperbole.
Interviewer	Hyperbole! But there's a pattern now for me now. You're struggling with figures of speech. You did mention that you struggle with (incomprehensible speech)
II	Ya, I did mention it.
Interviewer	Right, let's look at 2.2.1. okay, the vocab I see you, you got all of them wrong. But what do you think that is so? Do you they were unfamiliar to you or do you feel it's because you don't read?
II	They were quite unfamiliar and also the fact that I don't read as often as I should.
Interviewer	Okay. Right, let's look at 2.2.1. 'Explain the irony in the words.' What do you understand by irony?
II	Uhm, the irony. (sighs). How do I say this in English?
Interviewer	(giggles)

II	No I have, uhm...
Interviewer	Say it in your language if it makes you feel comfortable and then explain to me.
II	Oh irony, in other words, keg e motho I yetsa (speaking Sotho). O yetsa bo tlaela, in other words. Uhm, what I mean by that ko ore, it's not. Well no, that's, that's sarcastic. But uhm, irony is when a person is being ironic.
Interviewer	(laughs) That explains everything ...
II	(giggles)(speaks Sotho). How do you say that in English? (laughs) (pauses). In ya, in English it's uh, ya.
Interviewer	Right can you. Okay I want to ask you a question now that you are speaking. When you don't, when you can't access a definition, do you resort to Sepedi?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	And then do you arrive at an answer when you do that?
II	Eventually I do.
Interviewer	Most times do you get it right or wrong?
II	Uhm, I get it, 50-50.
Interviewer	50-50.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	So then all the time when you access the question, you find 'I can't understand what they asking' then you...
II	I, I, I ask myself ka Sepedi and then, try and find an answer ka Sepedi and then translate that into(pauses)
Interviewer	English.
II	English.
Interviewer	Wow! How often does that happen you think?
II	Ma'am, it, it happens quite a lot with English but not with my other subjects.
Interviewer	Especially English?
II	Ya especially English.
Interviewer	Wow that's amazing! And uhm, are there some things in your Sepedi language that you can't access? Because it doesn't...
II	Yes.
Interviewer	Te;; me about that.
II	Uhm, there, there's just some things you can't write. I mean you, you can't read ka Sepedi or
Interviewer	What I'm asking is that maybe there's something in English that if you go to Sepedi, and it doesn't, Sepedi doesn't have it. So then you can't, find the answer. Is that, have you ever experienced that?
II	Uhm, yes but then I found an answer ka Tshwana.
Interviewer	So you keep going to languages until you can find an answer.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	But when it comes to figures of speech, would you?
II	Uhm, no I wouldn't.
Interviewer	Not in figures of speech?
II	No. because uhm, figures of speech in English and Sepedi are quite different like, the, the wording is different.

Interviewer	Ya.
II	Completely different. So uhm...
Interviewer	So what are the aspects you would go to your language to find?
II	Mostly language. I'd just read the question in Sotho...
Interviewer	Wow...
II	Or Sepedi.
Interviewer	Wow, that's interesting. Now let's look at this question. First of all we have to understand what 'bootlegger' is. Right. Do you think if I told you who a bootlegger is, that you would understand what the irony is? Let me just tell you. A bootlegger is someone who makes and sells illegal alcohol.
II	Oh.
Interviewer	In the prohibition period when they were not allowed to drink alcohol, make alcohol or sell alcohol. Now, would you be able to access the answer now? Look at it.
II	(long pause) I would.
Interviewer	Give me the answer.
II	Uhm, well, I, I would say that since a bootlegger is someone that uhm, sells alcohol illegally.
Interviewer	mmm.
II	With cocktails they'd just throw in...you, you're not selling alcohol to a person but you giving alcohol to the person, I would say it's quite ironic in that way.
Interviewer	Okay, this is the answer, 'She accuses him of breaking the law by profiting through the sale of illegal alcohol. But she readily consumes his alcohol, which is also against the law.' (pause) you were not able to make that connection.
II	Mmm.
Interviewer	That drinking alcohol, which is against the law is just as bad. Imagine somebody drinking alcohol and saying 'Oh person's terrible for selling alcohol' but that's also against the law. Do you get it now?
II	Now, now...
Interviewer	Okay, but uhm, so these types of questions are definitely not. Do you know that 60% of your marks in an exam is based on questions like this? Are you aware of that?
II	Quite aware.
Interviewer	Who told you that?
II	Ms.Badal. (laughs)
Interviewer	Ah the next question that you got wrong was 2.2.2, which is 'How did the narrator reveal his contempt for the people who came to Gatsby's party?' Read your answer.
II	Oh what? I didn't answer that. 2.2.?
Interviewer	2
II	Oh wait, sorry, I did. Uhm, I said that the Gatsby, well, that the people going to the Gatsby party should be people of high standards and have riches as they would be showing off. As, ya.
Interviewer	Okay. Let's look at what he said. Because the answer's always in the text but you have to look for it. How did you arrive at that answer?
II	Uhm, well I read how (long pause). I read it somewhere...(long pause)
Interviewer	Let's go to the passage. Listen to this. 'it starts with one fellow, down on the empty



	spaces, a timetable' the names who came. Right. Let's go down to ' but I can still read the grey names, and they will give you a better impression than my generalities of those who accepted Gatsby's hospitality and paid him the subtle tribute of knowing nothing, whatsoever, about him.' What do you think the answer is?
II	(long pause) Mmm...
Interviewer	Remember it is said to you, read. Look at the question. It says 'Read paragraph one.'(pauses) Right, read paragraph one and then answer the questions. So, the examiner is saying your answer is in paragraph one. (pauses) and, your answer is here. When you say (pauses), he was upset with the people for coming to the party and not bothering to even get to know...And then, so this answer is not something that you actually have to look behind...
II	Ya.
Interviewer	It's directly on the surface there. But it's not so obvious. You have to read it. Right. Now would you say that it's not just poetry that...
II	No
Interviewer	(laughs)
II	(laughs) I would, I would say so.
Interviewer	(laughs) Okay. Let's look at 2.uhmmmm, 3.1 did you get that one? 2.3.1? I think you got one mark for that.
II	2.3.1?
Interviewer	Ya, the one that says 'Provide evidence in the text that supports the argument that the narrator did not believe that Gatsby was educated in Oxford.'
II	Oh ya, I think...
Interviewer	Did you get one mark for that?
II	Ya, I did.
Interviewer	Because it's quoted.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay. You see with the, with just putting a quote and not showing your understanding of the...
II	Oh okay
Interviewer	It's not a lot. You could have just taken that quote. That's why we ask you to explain. And the next question is 3.2. And 3.2 is 'How does the imagery in those lines reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge about how the upper class really behaves?' Read your answer for me.
II	Oooh I got, I got this one wrong. Uhm, I said, uhm, upper class people don't behave so badly...
Interviewer	(giggles)No go ahead.
II	(chuckles) When they're exposed to tigers. When they are, uhm, from afar, as they don't want to get dirty or something like that.
Interviewer	Where did you get this answer? I'm very intrigued to know where you got this answer from.
II	When, when I was answering this answer, uhm, 'provide evidence from the text that', uhm, 'suggests that the argument of the' oh wait, uh, sorry. Where am I? oh, uhm, 'Provide evidence from the text, that supports the argument that the narrator did not believe that Gatsby was educated in Oxford'
Interviewer	I think we not there. We are at 3.2 'How does the imagery'...



II	Oh okay. Uhm, I, I, I read the part where he would. What, what I meant by that answer is that white people...in, in, in as I mentioned, tigers. I will answer it as I answered it in my text. I said, uhm, with, regarding to tigers, a white person would be all, well a , a rich, wealthy person would see it from afar. Wouldn't go into contact with it. Whereby modern, uhm, ya, modern, normal, society people or people that earned a normal wage, would be interactive with...the tiger.
Interviewer	Where did you get that opinion from?
II	I don't know ma'am. It's just, how it is.
Interviewer	Do you think...is it an opinion question?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	It's not it says...
II	Oh sorry, I mean...
Interviewer	'How does the imagery in those lines, reveal Gatsby's lack of knowledge about how the upper-class really behaves?' Where must you get your answer?
II	From the text.
Interviewer	Which line? Let's look at lines 42 to 44. He says, (pauses). Can you read line 42 for me?
II	Uhm, (long pause) where am I? 'With an effort I managed to restrain my incredulous laughter. The very phrases were worn as thread bear that they evoked an, no image, except that of a (incomprehensible word) character. Leaking sawdust at every paw as he pursued a tiger to the (incomprehensible words) below.'
Interviewer	Okay. Now let's look at the words. Firstly incredulous means disbelieving. Right. When he says the phrases, that he's talking about, collecting jewels, the one previously, 'were worn so thread bear'. When something is worn thread bear there's nothing left. In other words he's told exactly...so you understand that concept right? 'They evoke no image'. In other words, he did not, he could not think of the image of Gatsby painting, and doing all of this.
II	Oh.
Interviewer	But what image came? Look , 'evoke no image', that means, the image that Gatsby is going for did not come. What image did come to his head, is ' a turbanned character. Look at character in inverted commas. In other words, he's questioning, the character. Turbanned character. A person, like an Indian person. A maharajah, right. So, not even seeing him as a white person. Can you see now?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	'Leaking sawdust at every paw'. In other words he's not even a normal man. He's just like a, like a scarecrow. No substance. So his story has no substance. Right. 'as he pursued a tiger through the (incomprehensible words)'. So he's saying, what in effect he's saying is, uh, the image now. The image of this person doing this is indicating to us that Gatsby has no clue as to how rich people really behave. So the narrator now, 'cause the narrator could see through his story, that means his stories were far out. Completely, completely out from, uh, how a person really behaves. And uhm, so...the way he's describing Gatsby (pauses). The place. The (incomprehensible words) place where only the French Monarchy used to go hunting. How would Gatsby look? Turban, chasing a tiger, leaking sawdust. Would he be part of it?
II	Mmhm (disagrees)

Interviewer	Would he be out of place? So that is how the author is trying to say the story that he's creating is not true because he has no idea of how people actually behave. White, especially rich, wealthy people.
II	Yes.
Interviewer	They don't go around...You'll notice that when people have, when they come from a poor background, they think that rich people do all these lavish things. So actually they, very basically the rich, white culture. They don't like to flaunt their money. They, uhm, they consider it not classy to flaunt your money. You must pretend like you have no money but have a lot of it. So what would you, as a black child, I mean from a township and having various kinds of influences in your life. How would this type of knowledge that is expected from you, disadvantage you?
II	In a lot of ways 'cause, the way I see things is not the way, the uhm...it's, it's, it's not the answering way of the question.
Interviewer	You think answering way or what's expected?...
II	What's expected to come out.
Interviewer	Mmm...
II	From the text, yes.
Interviewer	So would you say after this analysis that you have a better idea of answering questions and where to find it and how to access?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	Explain how.
II	Uhm...
Interviewer	What would you do differently now?
II	I would obviously inter... I would obviously read the whole context. That was hard for me to read. And then uhm, look...read, read, reading in-between the lines. That, that, that, that's what I would do.
Interviewer	Okay. What about imposing your own belief systems onto the text? Like one of the questions I think you took for an answer from what you think white people would do. Remember that one?
II	Yes.
Interviewer	Ya.
II	The current one that we talking about?
Interviewer	(incomprehensible word)
II	Uhm, (pauses), I would obviously, not really take that opinion. If I'm tryna find the answer, then I won't use my opinion.
Interviewer	Okay. We do have questions where we say, 'in your opinion, would you do this?' there are questions like that...
II	But in, in ,in most cases, with those questions a person would say 'in your opinion what do you think of this?' and someone says their opinion, it's wrong and then you start thinking...
Interviewer	Ya
II	Uhm, you, you, you like start thinking, then 'why you asking in my opinion?' this is my opinion, but my opinion is wrong.
Interviewer	Generally in 'your opinion' questions, if you justify it properly.
II	Yes.

Interviewer	So you're yes, and your justified answer must be in sync, otherwise, it won't be regarded as wrong. Thank you very much for time. It was really interesting chatting with you.
II	Thank you ma'am.

**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT: JJ**

Interviewer	Good afternoon.
JJ	Afternoon ma'am.
Interviewer	How are you?
JJ	I'm fine thanks and you ma'am.
Interviewer	Good, are you nervous?
JJ	Aah yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Why?
JJ	I'm just nervous.
Interviewer	Just nervous?
JJ	Ya
Interviewer	Ok, right first I'm going to ask you a few questions about yourself and English and culture and all of that and then we're going to look at the test.*Pause* Right, can you tell me a little about your cultural background?
JJ	Okay I'm Xhosa from the Cape, I'm Xhosa from the Eastern Cape, I grew up there.
Interviewer	So you speak Xhosa?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	And you're from the Eastern Cape ?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	You were born there?
JJ	Ya I was born there.
Interviewer	Okay.
JJ	Then from the age of six I went to Bloemfontein.
Interviewer	Bloemfontein? Ok , when you were in the Eastern Cape what language did you speak?
JJ	Xhosa.
Interviewer	Xhosa?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Up to six?
JJ	*Pause* Ok until now I've been, I've been, I've been taking Xhosa from when I was young.
Interviewer	Please speak a little bit louder my angel. Ok so you've been talking all, you've been speaking Xhosa all the time?
JJ	When I went to Bloemfontein.
Interviewer	When you went to Bloemfontein?
JJ	Ya I've been doing Sotho and Xhosa since then.
Interviewer	So you did Sotho and Xhosa, tell me about the English.
JJ	The English wasn't, it was only Xhosa and Sotho.
Interviewer	Okay, when you were, up to grade six did you go to Nursery School/Preschool in Eastern Cape?

JJ	<i>No ma'am.</i>
Interviewer	You didn't go?
JJ	Yes ma'am,
Interviewer	And did you go to grade one there?
JJ	Yea at Bloemfontein.
Interviewer	Oh, oh so you didn't have any schooling at all in the Eastern Cape?
JJ	*Pause* I went to Bloemfontein from grade R to, to grade 7.
Interviewer	Oh ok and you six years old in the Eastern Cape?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	And you didn't have any schooling there up to that point?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	The first time you went to school they were only talking Xhosa?
JJ	Oh I did ma'am.
Interviewer	Oh did you? That's what I want to know.
JJ	Oh, The crèche yea.
Interviewer	Yes the crèche.
JJ	Ya in Eastern Cape.
Interviewer	Ok what type of crèche was it?
JJ	*Pause* Xhosa.
Interviewer	So it was a Xhosa crèche?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	And it spoke just only Xhosa to you?
JJ	Only Xhosa.
Interviewer	No English whatsoever?
JJ	No.
Interviewer	So you didn't read books, you didn't sing songs you didn't do anything?
JJ	There were only Xhosa books, everything was in Xhosa.
Interviewer	Everything was in Xhosa. Right, then from there you went to Bloemfontein?
JJ	Yes.
Interviewer	And then what happened there?
JJ	I was doing Sotho and Afrikaans.
Interviewer	Sotho and Afrikaans? And no English?
JJ	Ok, I did English from grade 6.
Interviewer	From grade 6?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Up to grade 6 no English?
JJ	I did English from grade 6. Up to now.
Interviewer	From grade 1 to grade 5, no English?
JJ	We were doing Xhosa most of the time and Sotho. And Afrikaans, a bit of Afrikaans.
Interviewer	A bit of Afrikaans, and no English whatsoever. Then in grade 6?
JJ	I did English.

Interviewer	You did English, which school? I mean in Bloemfontein?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Was it an Afrikaans school? Was it an English school? What type of school was it?
JJ	I think it was a Xhosa school 'cos there was Sotho and Xhosa, that was there.
Interviewer	Ok did you do English home language or English first additional?
JJ	First additional.
Interviewer	First additional?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Ok so your first grounding in English was in first additional language?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	How did you cope with that? With grade 6? How old are you?
JJ	It was difficult ma'am I think I was thirteen in grade 6.
Interviewer	Thirteen?
JJ	Yea twelve or thirteen I can't remember.
Interviewer	And then.
JJ	It was difficult for me to like English.
Interviewer	How did you cope like first I mean *pauses* it's a whole new language.
JJ	Yes they were mixing languages like English and Xhosa at the same time so it was easier to understand, when they speak Xhosa and English at the same time.
Interviewer	Oh so they were speaking Xhosa.
JJ	Yea
Interviewer	So would they explain in Xhosa or what?
JJ	Yes ma'am they were, they explained in Xhosa ma'am.
Interviewer	So they would teach you English and explain in Xhosa?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Oh
JJ	They would tell you to write your sentence in English or something.
Interviewer	You have to explain to me what happened again? Tell me exactly what happened.
JJ	And then they would give us like *pause* like classwork or something in class and then they say write your sentence in English.
Interviewer	Right.
JJ	Then take it to ma'am and then ma'am will mark it and correct it where you're wrong.
Interviewer	So
JJ	And explain if you don't understand it in Xhosa or Sotho.
Interviewer	Explain it in Xhosa or Sotho, ok and uhhh did they speak English to you all the time.
JJ	No ma'am it was Xhosa most of the time.
Interviewer	So never English in class?

JJ	Sometimes.
Interviewer	Very little? Or a lot?
JJ	Very little.
Interviewer	Very little, ok and then uhh what happened after that? How long did you stay at the school?
JJ	*pause* Until grade 7.
Interviewer	Until grade 7?
JJ	Then I went back to Eastern Cape.
Interviewer	Ok, tell me so grade 6 and grade 7 you were in Bloemfontein and you were at the school that you were describing now.
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Right, did you feel confident in English?
JJ	No ma'am.
Interviewer	How did you feel?
JJ	Bad or good? Ya bad.
Interviewer	Why?
JJ	Like some of the words, I did not know what they mean. Like when I had to communicate, it was hard for me to communicate in English, cause I didn't like, I was just not saying, that sentence cause I didn't know like how to put a sentence like uhh.
Interviewer	And then where did you go from there?
JJ	I went back to Eastern Cape.
Interviewer	Mhmm to which school? What type of school? Again a Xhosa school??
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	And ummmm English? What about English?
JJ	We were doing the same stuff in English, like the tenses, like all of the tenses. Every day in fact.
Interviewer	What did you do every day? Explain tell me exactly what you did?
JJ	The tenses like past tense, present tense and verbs.
Interviewer	That's it?
JJ	That's it
Interviewer	Was it a home language class or a first additional class? In Eastern Cape.
JJ	First additional
Interviewer	First additional class, and what was the focus when they were teaching you? *pause* Everyday what would they teach you?
JJ	Verbs
Interviewer	Verbs?
JJ	Tenses
Interviewer	Tenses? That's it?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	What about literature?
JJ	Nothing.

Interviewer	Nothing?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	At all?
JJ	Even in Xhosa they were doing verbs and, and tenses.
Interviewer	Even in Xhosa they wouldn't do any literature?
JJ	No ma'am.
Interviewer	At all?
JJ	It was just the essays and the verbs.
Interviewer	So writing and language. They kept teaching you language and writing and no tenses, I mean no creative I'm sorry uhhh literature at all?
JJ	Yes
Interviewer	And then what happened from there?
JJ	And then
Interviewer	I mean now you're at (the school) I'm just trying to trace how you got here.
JJ	Okay and then I went to the Eastern Cape again until grade 10.
Interviewer	Right, Grade 10?
JJ	In High School
Interviewer	Right
JJ	Even there they they ummm
Interviewer	Visualize take your time you must explain to me what is going on here.
JJ	In grade 10 the English was bad also, cause it was a Xhosa school, we were talking Xhosa like it's English, most of the time in class.
Interviewer	So in class you would never speak English?
JJ	Ya.
Interviewer	And the English period?
JJ	We were talking...
Interviewer	You are grade 10, and you are in a First additional school where Xhosa and?
JJ	And English
Interviewer	And English was being taught .
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Did she teach, they used to, in what language did they teach you all the subjects?
JJ	They were mixing the Xhosa and English.
Interviewer	All the time?
JJ	Yes.
Interviewer	Okay
JJ	There was no time like, like where they would speak always English.
Interviewer	Ya
JJ	No
Interviewer	Never a time where they spoke always English?
JJ	No?
Interviewer	And then what would you speak with your friends on the playground?



JJ	Xhosa
Interviewer	Did you have family that could speak English really well?
JJ	*pause* They do but they were living here not in the Eastern Cape. Like, like my aunt.
Interviewer	Your aunt lives here in Pretoria?
JJ	Ya.
Interviewer	And they speak English well.
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	How do you feel when you speak English and they speak English?
JJ	I feel bad because... I feel bad because the accent between me and them is not the same.
Interviewer	You feel bad?
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Why
JJ	Because I want to, *pause* to learn and to I don't know, I can't put it, *pause* eish I don't know can we
Interviewer	No I want to ask you how do you feel when your Family speaks good English and you don't?
JJ	I feel bad ma'am.
Interviewer	Mmm
JJ	But I'm learning.
Interviewer	You feel you are improving?
JJ	Yes ma'am I am probably like since I came here to (the school).
Interviewer	Why has it improved here, since you came here? Because you've only been here two years, what?
JJ	Three
Interviewer	Three years.
JJ	Three years because I failed grade 11 .
Interviewer	Because you failed grade 11 ok.
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Tell me, how has it improved?
JJ	Because here like all the teachers they speak English in class.
Interviewer	Ok
JJ	And for me it's challenging cause for me to I, I, I get a chance to talk English to the teachers to, and, and, and with my friends.
Interviewer	So why did you come, explain to me how you arrived here at (the school)? Because you're now, you were grade 10 , you were doing your grade 10 in the Eastern Cape, What happened there?
JJ	My aunt said I must come here
Interviewer	Your aunt asked you to come here? Why?
JJ	It's personal.
Interviewer	Oh so it has nothing to do with the school?

JJ	No
Interviewer	Oh ok. Alright so you came to live with your aunt in Pretoria?
JJ	Mmmmm
Interviewer	And what happened then?
JJ	Like how?
Interviewer	You cam came to (the school).
JJ	Yes ma'am.
Interviewer	Tell me about your experience when you first came to (the school).
JJ	I was scared cause
Interviewer	Cause now you.. ok let me just finish, you had first additional, English mixing and all of that. Now you come to (the school) and we do home language English, you've come to the English home language class. How did you feel?
JJ	I don't..... I was scared like on the first day I came here because the first thing I saw was like white people and white teachers I was scared, cause like how am I going to like how am I going to learn or understand the... the teaching. In this school cause I *pauses*
Interviewer	What do you do when you're struggling to get an answer or to speak cause you can't find the words? What do you usually do?
JJ	Eish I think I have a problem with talking if you, if you notice that.
Interviewer	So you struggle to speak?
JJ	Sometimes like when I'm nervous.
Interviewer	When you're nervous?
JJ	Ya
Interviewer	Ok, so tell me how did you feel, your first experience in (the school)?
JJ	I was scared because of the white teachers and and and when I was in the Eastern Cape I was used to Xhosa and the Xhosa learners and the Xhosa teachers there.
Interviewer	Okay and tell me about the workload, the English and the level of English when you came to a home language class.
JJ	It was bad ma'am. It was bad for me and difficult in language and essay writing cause in the Eastern Cape they taught us some different stuff for writing essays. So for me it was bad when I had to write essays here, because I used the Eastern Cape one that they were writing essays cause then I would write the way I used to write in the Eastern Cape.
Interviewer	What about literature.
JJ	I'm bad at literature
Interviewer	Why?
JJ	Like sometimes I don't understand like, like the way they ask questions in literature. Sometimes the questions, they are very difficult.
Interviewer	With what type of questions do you struggle the most?
JJ	Like analysing when I have to analyse something.
Interviewer	So then growing up, did you read fairytales, did you sing nursery rhymes,

	songs, any kind of children's literature? Did you have any of those books at home to read?
JJ	There was no books.
Interviewer	No books?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Did anyone tell you stories, bedtime stories, sing to you?
JJ	Ya my granddad was Xhosa.
Interviewer	Not with English I'm speaking about English.
JJ	No ma'am.
Interviewer	So only Xhosa stories no English or whatever?
JJ	Yes
Interviewer	What was your first er how old were you when you got your first book, English book to read.
JJ	I think 10, ten years old
Interviewer	Ten years old?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	And what was the book? What type of book?
JJ	I can't remember.
Interviewer	You can't remember?
JJ	No
Interviewer	So you never read any children's stories? Ok umm do you watch a lot of English movies and listen to music, English music?
JJ	I do watch the movies but sometimes. And I do listen to the music yea.
Interviewer	What type of music?
JJ	Hip Hop
Interviewer	American music?
JJ	American music
Interviewer	*laughs* Ok, ohh do you think that if you had a choice that you should rather be... Are you coping in the home language class?
JJ	Yes I'm happy
Interviewer	Umm remember in the home language class we have white English speakers, we have white Afrikaans speakers and we have maybe black speakers who are more confident than you with things like that. How do you feel when you are in this class? When I say coping in the home language class I'm speaking about your level of English. Do you think your level of English is at home language level?
JJ	I'm not coping ma'am.
Interviewer	Why? Why are you saying that you're not coping, why are you changing your answer?
JJ	Because my English mark is low and I'm trying but I don't know.
Interviewer	When I ask how you're coping I wasn't talking about how you feel I was talking about the level of English. Are you coping with the level of English,

	are you coping with the level of English in the home language class?
JJ	I am
Interviewer	How are you coping? Because coping would be you're doing well in English in the home language class.
JJ	Like I can speak with the white people in English
Interviewer	It's not about speaking with white people it's about the level of home language tests, exams, the way we teach. When your teacher teaches you English, do you get what she's saying all the time?
JJ	Oh...I do
Interviewer	All the time?
JJ	Not all the time... sometimes I get lost and just leave it
Interviewer	You get lost and just leave it?
JJ	Sometimes...I don't like to disrupt sometimes in class
Interviewer	Ok and uhhm so, so when your teacher instructs you in class and when she is teaching you are able to understand what she is saying?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	And would you say your performance in English is..If you look at your marks and things like that would you say it's good, average, below average?
JJ	Below average
Interviewer	you not having a problem -
JJ	-I do ma'am -
Interviewer	you say your marks are below average so where would the problem be there?
JJ	The answering techniques ma'am
Interviewer	Oh
JJ	In the questions for example in the...the...the test we wrote. The question gave final uhh(mumbled words)
Interviewer	Mmm
JJ	But then I have to answer....it's...like I will write it in in a different way
Interviewer	Different way...
JJ	Like I can't answer like straight...I don't know I can't answer
Interviewer	What type of questions do you struggle with?
JJ	...With the contextual questions
Interviewer	With the contextual questions
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Can you write a literature essay?
JJ	.....Not that good but I can try
Interviewer	You try, but when you try do you get good marks for it?
JJ	If I try in general I get like ten or something I don't get full full marks
Interviewer	Ok.. ten out of?
JJ	You get like out of 15 then maybe I'll get like 7 to 10
Interviewer	7 to 10 out of 15? The marks are out of 25 for a literature essay

JJ	No I'm just saying if a essay...ja uhhh ok I'm not good ma'am
Interviewer	(laughs)
JJ	In answering the essays I will fail cause if I got 10 out of 25 I would of failed that essay
Interviewer	10 out of 25 is 40%
JJ	Ok
Interviewer	So that's a pass mark, 40%. So..uhhm..ok..How confident do you think speaking in the class?
JJ	...Never ma'am I'm not confident
Interviewer	Why?
JJ	Cause I get nervous
Interviewer	Why are you nervous?
JJ	I'm shy to speak in front of the people
Interviewer	Why?
JJ	I don't know..just that shaking
Interviewer	Hmm?
JJ	Just that shaking and shy for me to talk
Interviewer	You have to think why and be honest. Why do you think you so afraid to speak in the class?
JJ	Cause they will laugh at me ma'am
Interviewer	What who will laugh at you?
JJ	The learners
Interviewer	Why?... You have to...be honest don't be afraid why cause I'm trying to figure out what is it why would they laugh at you
JJ	cause sometimes I might make mistakes
Interviewer	Mmm
JJ	And...and...and pronounce some words wrong and I'm scared of that
Interviewer	And you afraid that they will laugh at you... so would you say your confidence level in the class is
JJ	Low
Interviewer	Low
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	If you look at your class, just your English class would you say all the black learners in your class speak really well and confidently?
JJ	...Yes ma'am I can say that...cause they friends...they friends with each other so they get along
Interviewer	No I'm talking about the way they speak
JJ	Yes ma'am they do
Interviewer	How do they speak the English language compared to you
JJ	I Think they better than me
Interviewer	No they not better than you
JJ	For instance like..(mumbling)..in front of the wor..it's like they better

	than..they better than..in an exam or something
Interviewer	Ok so now when I ask you a question and you resorted to Xhosa. When you said something in Xhosa what did you say?
JJ	I can speak like no..
Interviewer	Repeat what you said you said angiri something
JJ	Like angiri it's like yeah
Interviewer	But you said something in Xhosa and then you spoke in English
JJ	I said adingingnita „what can I say
Interviewer	What can I say..why did you resort to your language?
JJ	(mumbling)
Interviewer	What
JJ	(mumbling)
Interviewer	Sorry?
JJ	It spits out like the words
Interviewer	Does it normally happen? If you struggling for the word.. would you resort to Xhosa?
JJ	Yes cause sometimes I mix...sometimes Xhosa sometimes English
Interviewer	mmm...But if you are reading a text and trying to understand do you think in Xhosa or English?
JJ	Both ma'am
Interviewer	Both..When do you go to Xhosa?
JJ	When I don't understand, like when I go through the question and...
Interviewer	So when you go through the question and you don't understand
JJ	I do it in my head in Xhosa..maybe..
Interviewer	Analyse it in Xhosa
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	And then you figure it out..ok and what about when you reading the text, do you do that as well?
JJ	In some words...like when I don't understand the word
Interviewer	Yes
JJ	Maybe I will take the sentence and...and...and try to put it in Xhosa
Interviewer	Mmmm ok then tell me uhhhm.....are there some things because now you say you start thinking in Xhosa are there something's you find in the English language that you don't understand or you don't get in your language if you trying to think..are there?
JJ	No it's just the meaning of the words, most of the time.
Interviewer	Figures of speech, hyperbole. Would you find it in your language? Ambiguity?
JJ	No
Interviewer	So is it just the words or are their some other things as well
JJ	Ja ma'am some figures of speech sometimes
Interviewer	And irony would you find it?

JJ	Sometimes they do.. sometimes ja
Interviewer	So there irony in Xhosa?
JJ	....
Interviewer	Are there examples of irony in Xhosa?
JJ	I am not sure
Interviewer	...and then would get something like hyperbole in Xhosa?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Give me an example, what is hyperbole in Xhosa?
JJ	Xhosa is...
Interviewer	Huh
JJ	Xhosa is a hard language
Interviewer	But how can it be hard you have spoken it your whole life since you were a baby
JJ	I've been failing the language Xhosa
Interviewer	Have you been failing Xhosa?
JJ	Language only language cause I can't do language. weve been only doing essays
Interviewer	So you fail in Xhosa? Even though you spoke it
JJ	Jaa
Interviewer	And uh and Zulu?
JJ	Zulu is easier for me I can say...like it's easier than Xhosa
Interviewer	Are you doing Afrikaans at the moment?
JJ	No ma'am
Interviewer	Oh you do Zulu and English. Oh ok that interesting so what language are you good at say?
JJ	....ok....Sotho and Zulu
Interviewer	Sotho and Zulu?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Ok so do you think there are figures of speech that we find in English in Sotho or Zulu? Are there?
JJ	Yes ma'am in Zulu
Interviewer	Give me an example
JJ	....in Zulu?
Interviewer	Ja
JJ	Ok...isithlaniso
Interviewer	What is that?
JJ	....ok can I say a different one ma'am
Interviewer	Mmhmm
JJ	Isifaniso
Interviewer	Ok so when you study in Zulu when you say say isifaniso is it similar? Means it similar it doesn't mean it's a simile
JJ	Like some of the words in Zulu it's similar like it's isifaniso and when I have

	to write...
Interviewer	Uhh..ok and in the literature of Zulu would you find other similes...is it just like English?
JJ	Ja I did ma'am
Interviewer	Give me an example
JJ	...of what
Interviewer	Of a simile in Zulu
JJ	Hmm ok...umama ugengo thoumshlang
Interviewer	Oh ok the mother is dressing like the child
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Ok uhh ok would you say uhh is it the same type of simile like the English simile? Like let me read you one
JJ	Like is and like
Interviewer	Mmm
JJ	Ja it is the same in Zulu like if...like..if..if..if u don't understand in Zulu the she will tell us in English so it's the same
Interviewer	Hahaha so the teacher that teaches you Zulu if you don't understand in Zulu then she will teach you in English?
JJ	Uh no like some of the words.. like if you do not understand that word then she wi...then she will tell us in English to understand what it is cause maybe we understand the word just not in Zulu
Interviewer	Ok so then uhhm ok so if you don't understand a simile in English you start thinking in Zulu? Is that what you saying or not?
JJ	....hmm I don't get it can you repeat the question
Interviewer	I'm saying if you find a figure o speech in English do you look for one in your other language or do you just leave it? What do you do?
JJ	No I don't cause I know it's like and as
Interviewer	You know at a grade 12 level in a home language class we don't ask you the simile like or as. We ask you to explore it. To explain it like I think in this one you got it wrong
JJ	I got it right
Interviewer	You got it right...let's see what did you say?
JJ	He is comparing the sky to the blue Mediterranean ...(mumble)
Interviewer	Do you think..I know I marked it right there..but do you think you explained the comparison properly or do you just take the passage and write it out?
JJ	No ma'am I did the passage, I wrote the passage down
Interviewer	What...what did you need to do there?
JJ	...to explain in my own opinion
Interviewer	Yes...now let's look at the answer. The answer is a simile, the reflection of the sky replicated the Mediterranean sea. Thats the answer... The answer is a simile, the reflection of the sky replicated the Mediterranean sea. To replicate means to, almost to copy. When you replicate something you make another copy of it



JJ	...oh...so they compare the sky to medate...Mediterranean
Interviewer	Ja so cause look at the line 3 here it says that on the train that's what she saw so if you were on the train it would look like you were looking at the sea because that's how the shadow of the sky was onto the sea.
JJ	.....ok.....
Interviewer	So you think you are good in figures of speech then? Would you think you don't struggle with that?
JJ	I do with some of them
Interviewer	Which ones? You good in similes you said because you know like and as
JJ	It's not like similes only I struggle with onomatopoeia...onomatopoeia and
Interviewer	And what else?
JJ	Ahh ma'am I forget
Interviewer	What about the Gatsby text. What do you think about the Gatsby text. Was it easy for you?
JJ	Not really ma'am
Interviewer	Cause it's a matric prescribed book
JJ	Mmm
Interviewer	The Gatsby and how did you find the language in the book? Was it easy to understand?
JJ	It wasn't ma'am because I didn't...I didn't understand because I don't know what they said and the questions they were asking
Interviewer	But the questions that they asked are they similar to the tests that you write? Like your standardized tests or your exams
JJ	K some of them are similar
Interviewer	When I say similar I mean the questioning technique
JJ	Oww
Interviewer	The technique that we use, is it the same?
JJ	...Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Ok so I think that you would say the way the questions are asked.. you've seen it before. I mean you've seen this type of question before
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Ok, so it wasn't new to you, only the text
JJ	Ja
Interviewer	Ok right...uh lets look at 1.2. What was your answer for 1.2?
JJ	Because a what shouldn't of failed his dark suit and his bald hair as it failed everything in the..in..in the vicinity and tom..and tom even said she must go.. and tom said she...and tom even said she must get on the train
Interviewer	Ok, now the question was did Mrs. Wilson's wife respect him. Justify your answer with evidence from the text. The answer is no. She walked past her husband as if he was invisible and spoke to him in a coarse voice. Look at the way she speaks to him. Look at the way when she says she orders him about..uhhm..do you think a wife should speak to her husband in that manner?

JJ	No ma'am
Interviewer	What's wrong with the way she spoke to him? Look again read again and see what she says to her husband and then tell me
JJ	I don't have the passage
Interviewer	Ok it was here I think there we are. Its right there in the first paragraph.....do you feel how you have to arrive at an answer now? Cause it's look what it says..she wen....she..she smiled slowly and walked past her husband as if he were a ghost. She walked through her husband as if he were a ghost shook hands with tom looking him flush in the eye then she wet her lips and without turning around spoke to her husband in a soft coarse voice. ' get some chairs why don't you so somebody can sit down ' what do you understand about that?
JJ	That is disrespect ma'am
Interviewer	Why explain why is that disrespect
JJ	Ok with the line like on the page
Interviewer	The very first one...the very first line, start from the first line, she smiled..can you see it?.....ok do you want to look at it on mine cause you can't seem to find it
JJ	No I found it ma'am
Interviewer	Ok
JJ	What is the question again?
Interviewer	The question is..the question says: did mrs Wilsons wife respect him? I'm saying to you look at the first paragraph, can you see now why she disrespects him? How do you have to find the answer? Where are you going to look to find the answer?
JJ	Because she spoke to him very closely and then
Interviewer	And then?...what I'm asking is, cause you gave a completely different answer and the answer was in the text. This was one of the easy question
JJ	K what was the answer ma'am
Interviewer	The answer is no, she walked passed her husband as if he was invisible and spoke to him in a coarse voice. You could even say she ordered him about, she spoke roughly to him in the presence of other men. You could of said any of those things. But you didn't look in the text there why? Because when you ask does someone respect you looking at the word that the person says..ok so that was a difficult question for you
JJ	What question ma'am 1.2?
Interviewer	Yes JJ it was 1.2
JJ	k..yes ma'am
Interviewer	Where did you look for that answer? Did you struggle to find that answer
JJ	I did ma'am
Interviewer	Why .why your answer was, as I said completely out, you didn't even look at these words to find your answer why?

JJ	...I don't have an answer for that
Interviewer	You don't have an answer for that ok let's look at 1.5 that was a difficult answer.question, what do you understand about the term ambiguity
JJ	K I don't understand the word ambiguity
Interviewer	It's a figure of speech, ambiguity is a figure of speech right firstly
JJ	Oh I didn't know ma'am
Interviewer	Ok secondly...it's been taught, it's been taught in the home language class it's been tested, so it's not like you haven't done that uhhm in grade 11 you did that uhhm in your test, in exams you would of seen it now I want to ask you if I tell you the word..what the word means would you be able to get the answer?...ambiguity means on the first/on the top it has one meaning but it has a double implied meaning in other words there..you can read it both ways. But the author always uses ambiguity for another purpose...so that's what ambiguity means. Can you look at that and be able to find the answer? Let's look at it..I almost married a little kike and a kike means a Jew and it's a very disrespectful term...(reads script) so she didn't marry the Jew she married Chester can you see that? But Mrs. Wilsons says. "well I married him"..who is the him she is talking about? Myrtle is married to Mr. Wilson but she is saying to us she married him and the him they are talking about is the Jew. Is she married to the Jew?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	She not, she's married to Mr. Wilson, she's not married to the Jew she's married to Mr. Wilson. Ok so I'm not even going to go into this one because do you think you even going to get this one?
JJ	No ma'am no
Interviewer	Do you understand irony?
JJ	No ma'am
Interviewer	It just another figure of speech you are struggling with, so have you ever used irony when you speak to someone?
JJ	...I don't know, I think I do but I don't know what it is
Interviewer	Ok, so when people talk to you have they ever done it in indirect means like give instruction or something?
JJ	Like they not talking to me they talking to..
Interviewer	No no like they say one thing but imply something else
JJ	No ma'am
Ms Bad	Never...alright
Interviewer	The last question I don't really understand because I want to know how you got no. 5 right because you couldn't get no. 4 right
JJ	Cause it's the policeman...he will know not to stop him the next time
Interviewer	Why will he know not to stop him, he's speeding, he must stop him, why won't he stop him the next time?
JJ	Because he knows him

Interviewer	Oh so if a policeman knows me and I'm speeding he mustn't stop me?...isn't that corruption? Isn't that against the law? So would the answer not be that Gatsby was corrupt? What does it imply about Gatsby? .A normal law abiding citizen would of paid his fine, taken his ticket but when Gatsby saw the policeman he pulled out a card and the policemen said 'ok excuse me I'm never going to stop you again' ..maybe he was a bit afraid
JJ	I think so
Interviewer	So what does that make Gatsby?Is he a law abiding citizen? Do you think, a person who doesn't want to pay the fine, shows the policeman something and the policeman says ok I'm not going to stop you the next time. What does that imply about Gatsby?
JJ	Mmmm
Interviewer	That he is-
JJ	Good.
Interviewer	That he is a good person?
JJ	I can say that
Interviewer	Oh so a person who doesn't want to pay his fine is a good person in your knowledge? In your culture? If a person doesn't pay his fine and shows something..
JJ	Ohh no...
Interviewer	In your culture is it acceptable for a person to be crooked like that?
JJ	Oh no I thought he was bribing that's why I said no
Interviewer	He is sought of bribing...so bribing is normal it's a good thing?
JJ	No ma'am it's not acceptable
Interviewer	It's not acceptable
JJ	No ma'am
Interviewer	So what does it make Gatsby? What is implied about him
JJ	That that person is evil
Interviewer	Corrupt
JJ	Ja ma'am corrupt
Interviewer	Bad and evil is like if somebody killed someone but in this case it means they are corrupt because anybody who tries to get out of paying a fine is illegal, they can't be a good person, it's corrupt. How would you answer the question differently next time
JJ	I would analyze it like imagine
Interviewer	Yes ok so I asked you when you don't understand a word or phrase in English what do you do?
JJ	I guess
Interviewer	You guess that's it? You don't think about it in a different language?
JJ	I do but sometimes I don't get answers
Interviewer	But you try?
JJ	Yes ma'am I do
Interviewer	In what language?

JJ	In English so that I can try and get it right
Interviewer	In English? So you don't think I Zulu or Xhosa or anything like that?
JJ	It won't help cause if I don't understand that word then I can't understand it in Zulu or something
Interviewer	Ohh ok...so when you were growing up did you come across indirect language, because this whole thing was about indirect language and that is what you are struggling with so when you were growing up did you ever come across indirect language?
JJ	No ma'am
Interviewer	Uhh did you experience verbal irony from parents, friends, siblings?
JJ	Ja sometimes
Interviewer	Where they direct or indirect
JJ	Sometimes indirect
Interviewer	Give me an example of it
JJ	....I don't know ok like umhlung in Xhosa?
Interviewer	Mmm
JJ	They will say you stupid but in some way ja ok
Interviewer	.....do you feel stupid, do you feel like you not good enough? Do you feel that you not intelligent that you can't do this, do you feel useless? Or do you feel wonderful
JJ	Noo
Interviewer	I'm just asking cause you not giving me answers so I'm giving you possible answers.
JJ	Ok to answer I'm not intelligent enough to answer these questions
Interviewer	And?
JJ	I'm not good at answering them cause I do try at answering them
Interviewer	Mmm when you writing your test do you think ahh yes maybe I got it right
JJ	Yes ma'am that's why I fail...if it's bad for me then I will pass the test but if I say ja that was easy then I will fail
Interviewer	Perhaps do you think when the test is hard you pay more attention that you try more than if it's easy.
JJ	Mmm
Interviewer	What did we learn today coming out of this?
JJ	Answering questions and ja
Interviewer	How do you feel about yourself?
JJ	Ja ma'am confident and ja talking I never and I'm shy but today
Interviewer	So through this you have learnt to be confident about yourself?
JJ	Ja
Interviewer	Yes that's good...just remember I gave you your first interview hey? So tell me one technique you going to apply in your exams from this...tell me one or two things you have learnt today
JJ	Don't leave questions and..and...and..and imagine

Interviewer	Why do you struggle to find words? Do you struggle to find English words when you speak?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Because of the vocabulary?
JJ	Yes ma'am
Interviewer	Thank you JJ. Good luck for the exams

## APPENDIX F

### INTERVIEWEE CONSENT

22 October 2012

To whom it may concern

I have read the transcripts that have been recorded for Mrs B. Badal's research and certify that it is a true account of the recordings. I consent to the use of the data contained in the transcripts for the purpose of research.

Name:

Date:

Signature:

Place: